

The place of the
resurrection
appearances of
Jesus. By
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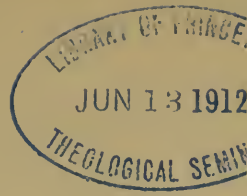
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THE PLACE OF THE RESURRECTION
APPEARANCES OF JESUS

WILLIAM PARK ARMSTRONG

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THE PLACE OF THE RESURRECTION APPEARANCES OF JESUS

The early Christian community in Jerusalem believed that Jesus of Nazareth, who had been crucified under Pontius Pilate, was the Messiah. This belief according to the earliest tradition had its origin in the consciousness of Jesus himself, for he both accepted the expression of it from others¹ and gave explicit witness to it by his own words² and actions.³ It was shared by his disciples. Through his death an element quite incongruous with their expectations was introduced into it.⁴ Yet the belief persisted and became a world-historic force. In the earliest form of which we have knowledge,—that is, of the faith of the primitive Christian community—it included two distinctive features:—the death and the resurrection of Jesus. There are clear indications in the Gospels that both of these elements entered into Jesus' conception of his Messiahship,⁵ but even if these indications be regarded merely as reflections of early Christian faith they imply by contrast a

¹ Mt. xvi. 16; Mk. viii. 29; Lk. ix. 20.

² Especially in the self-designation "Son of Man"; cf. Holtzmann, *Das mess. Bewusstsein Jesu*, 1907; *Lehrbuch d. neutest. Theologie*,² i, 1911, pp. 295 ff.; Pfleiderer *Das Urchristentum*² usw. i, 1902, pp. 660 ff. Tillmann, *Der Menschensohn*, BSt. xii. 1-2, 1907; Schlatter, *Der Zweifel an der Messianität Jesu*, BFTh. xi. 4, 1907; E. Klostermann, *Markus*, HB. ii. 1907, pp. 67 f.; B. B. Warfield, *The Lord of Glory*, 1907, pp. 23 ff., etc.

³ Mt. xxi. 1 ff; Mk. xi. 1 ff; Lk. xix. 29 ff.

⁴ Mk. viii. 32, ix. 10, 32, x. 35 ff., xiv. 27 ff., 51; Lk. xxiv. 21; cf. 1 Cor. i. 23; Gal. vi. 12 ff; on the idea of a suffering Messiah in Judaism cf. Bousset, *Religion d. Judentums*², 1906, p. 265; Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*⁴ usw. ii, 1907, pp. 648 ff.; J. Weiss, *SNT*,² i, 1907, pp. 148 ff.; Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 1906, pp. 368 f., 383 ff.; Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie* usw, 1903, p. 237; Bertholet, *Biblische Theologie d. Alten Testaments*, ii. 1911, p. 450.

⁵ Mk. viii. 30 f, etc.

change in the content of faith which was not without a cause. And if this cause be not, or not alone, in the consciousness of Jesus and his teaching, it must be sought in the experience of the disciples subsequent to his death. How then did the faith in Jesus as the Messiah, which embraced his death and resurrection, emerge in the consciousness of the disciples? There can be no doubt that it did emerge and that it did contain these elements. This is proven by the testimony of Paul.⁶ Converted to this faith within a few years after Jesus' death, he not only shared it from the beginning of his missionary activity,⁷ but in it knew himself to be in full accord with the early Christian community in Jerusalem.⁸ There is no trace of any difference of opinion on this subject.⁹ The difficulties in Corinth about the resurrection concerned not Jesus but believers.¹⁰ There is every reason to think that it had its origin

⁶ 1 Cor. xv. 2-8: παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη, καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα· ἔπειτα ὤφθη ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς ἐφάπαξ, ἐξ ὧν οἱ πλείονες μένουσιν ἕως ἄρτι, τινὲς δὲ ἐκοιμήθησαν· ἔπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ, εἶτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάσιν· ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων ὡς περὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι ὤφθη κάμολι.

⁷ It appears definitely in his earliest Epistle (1 Thess. i. 10, iv. 14); and it is impossible to suppose that so fundamental an element in his thought could have been absent prior to this and the fact of its subsequent introduction have left no trace in his Epistles. The character of his pre-Christian activity (Gal. i. 14, 24; 1 Cor. xv. 9), the manner of his conversion (Gal. i. 16, cf. i. 2; 1 Cor. ix. 1, xv. 8; cf. Acts ix. 3 ff.; xxii. 6 ff.; xxvi. 12 ff.) and the close association of the resurrection and the exaltation of Jesus (Rom. i. 4; viii. 34) require the presence of this element in Paul's faith from its inception.

⁸ 1 Cor. xv. 1 ff.; Gal. i. 18 f.

⁹ As there was about other matters touching the relation of the Gentile Christians to the ceremonial law; cf. the significant statement of Weizsäcker (*Das apostolische Zeitalter der christlichen Kirche*², 1892, pp. 16f) in regard to the fundamental agreement of Paul and the early Church in the christology which grew out of the common belief in the resurrection; cf. also F. Dibelius, *Das Abendmahl*, 1911, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁰ Paul's argument for the resurrection of believers in 1 Cor. xv. is based upon the resurrection of Jesus as a premise of fact about which all were agreed. Kirsopp Lake says (*The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 1911, pp. 215 f); "It is clear from 1 Cor. xv. that there was a party at Corinth which denied that there would ever be a resurrection of the dead. It is also plain that there was nevertheless no dispute as to the resurrection of

on the third day after Jesus' death,—on the first Easter Sunday, when the sepulchre of Jesus was found empty¹¹ and Jesus appeared to Peter and to others.

In the earliest documentary evidence Jesus himself is represented as the cause of this faith. His death was a well accredited fact. Belief in his resurrection is attributed to the self-manifestations of Jesus to his disciples and others by which he convinced them of his triumph over death; and this in turn gave to the empty tomb—a fact of their experience¹²—its true explanation.

The New Testament accounts of the self-manifestations or appearances of Jesus constitute an important element in the ex-

Christ, for the whole argument of St. Paul is based on the fact that there was a general consent on that subject. It has sometimes been thought that this implies that the Corinthians had no hope of any future life beyond death. But this view is an unjustified conclusion from 1 Cor. xv. 17-19. St. Paul is here arguing that there must be a resurrection, because a future life is impossible without one, and that the hope of the Christian to share in the life of Christ necessitates that he should rise from the dead just as Christ did. Moreover, the idea that there was no future life is as wholly foreign to the point of view of the "Mystery Religions" of the Corinthian world, as it was to that of Jewish theology. The question was not whether there would be a future life, but whether a future life must be attained by means of a resurrection, and St. Paul's argument is that in the first place the past resurrection of Christ is positive evidence for the future resurrection of Christians, and in the second place that the conception of a resurrection is central and essential in Christianity, which offers no hope of a future life for the dead apart from a resurrection." Cf. also Lake's estimate of the significance to be attached to the elements of Christian faith held in common by Paul and his readers and therefore presupposed in his Epistles, *ibid.*, pp. 115, 132 f., 233 n., 277, 424, 437, and *Exp.* 1909, i, p. 506.

¹¹ This is witnessed by all the Gospels and is implied in 1 Cor. xv. 3 f. by the close association of the burial and the resurrection on the third day. It was thus part of the primitive apostolic tradition. On the recent discussion of the empty tomb cf. A. Meyer, *Die Auferstehung Christi* usw. 1905, pp. 106ff; K. Lake, *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, 1907, pp. 240 ff.; H. J. Holtzmann, *ThR.* 1906, pp. 79 ff., 119 ff., *ThLz.* 1908, pp. 262 f.; P. W. Schmiedel, *PrM.* 1908, pp. 12ff; Korff, *Die Auferstehung Christi* usw. 1908, pp. 142ff; W. H. Ryder, *HTHr.* 1909, pp. 1 ff.; C. R. Bowen, *The Resurrection in the New Testament*, 1911, pp. 204 ff.

¹² Cf. Lk. xxiv. 23; Jno. xx. 3 ff.

planation which the early Christians gave of an essential feature of their faith. If these accounts are trustworthy, there can be no reasonable doubt concerning the ground upon which the primitive faith in the resurrection rested. Undoubtedly they reflect the belief of the early Christians. But are they for this reason or because of their contents and mutual relations witnesses only to faith and not to fact? Historical criticism, it is true, is concerned primarily with the narratives,—their exact content, mutual and genetic relations, and their value; but the final judgment which it must render concerning the truthfulness of the narratives, their correspondence with reality,—involving as this does the idea of causation—cannot be made apart from a general world-view or ultimate philosophical theory.¹³ And since the end of the process may be first in thought, the process itself will sometimes disclose the influence of theoretical considerations.

In considering the relation of early Christian belief to historical fact, critical investigation enters upon a historico-genetic analysis of the documentary evidence in which search is made in the details of the different narratives for traces of the stages through which the final result,—i. e. the belief whose origin the narratives professedly set forth—was attained. Among the details which may be expected to throw light on this process the indications of place or locality in the narratives of the appearances are not only important in themselves but have, since the time of Reimarus, Lessing, and Strauss, held a central place in modern discussion of the subject.

The witness of the New Testament to the place of the appearances is in general quite plain. In the list of appearances which Paul gives in 1 Cor. xv. 5-8 no mention is made of

¹³ On this aspect of historical criticism cf. *PrThR.* 1910, pp. 247 ff.; Kieff, *Der geschichtliche Christus und die moderne Philosophie*, 1911; and the discussions of the "religious à priori" by Bousset, *ThR.* 1909, pp. 419 ff., 471 ff. (cf. *ZThK.* 1910, pp. 341 ff.; 1911, pp. 141 ff.); Dunkmann, *Das religiöse Apriori und die Geschichte*, *BFTh.* xiv. 3, 1910; Wobbermin, *ZThK.* 1911, *Ergänzungsheft* 2; Troeltsch, *RGG.* ii. pp. 1437 ff., 1447 ff.; *Die Bedeutung der Geschichtlichkeit Jesu für den Glauben*, 1911; Mackintosh, *Exp.* 1911, i. pp. 434 ff.; Beth, *ThR.* 1912, pp. 1 ff.; also C. H. Weisse, *Evangelische Geschichte*, ii. 1838, pp. 441 ff.

place, although the Apostle incidentally alludes elsewhere to the place of one of them in a manner which presupposes knowledge of it.¹⁴ In Mt. xxviii two appearances are narrated,—one to certain women in Jerusalem on Easter Sunday,¹⁵ and one at a later time to the disciples in Galilee.¹⁶ Mark in its earliest transmitted form ends abruptly at xvi. 8 without mention of an appearance; but the message of the young man at the sepulchre gives promise of an appearance in Galilee.¹⁷ Lk. xxiv records at least two appearances,—one to Cleopas and his companion at Emmaus,¹⁸ and one to the disciples in Jerusalem on the evening of Easter Sunday¹⁹—allusion being made also to a third, the appearance to Peter on Easter Sunday and by necessary implication in or near Jerusalem.²⁰ Jno. xx relates an appearance to Mary Magdalene at the sepulchre,²¹ an appearance to the disciples—Thomas being absent—on Easter Sunday and in Jerusalem,²² and an appearance to the disciples again—Thomas being present—a week later and most probably in Jerusalem.²³ Jno. xxi describes an appearance to

¹⁴ Gal. i. 15 f. and 17 (καὶ πάλιν ὑπέσπευα εἰς Δαμασκόν).

¹⁵ xxviii. 9–10. καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἰησοῦς ὑπήντησεν αὐταῖς λέγων χαίρετε. αἱ δὲ προσελθοῦσαι ἐκράτησαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ. τότε λέγει αὐταῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς μὴ φοβεῖσθε· ὑπάγετε ἀπαγγεῖlate τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου ἵνα ἀπέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, κακεῖ με δεσονται.

¹⁶ xxviii. 16–20: οἱ δὲ ἔνδεκα μαθηταὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, εἰς τὸ ὄρος οὗ ἐτάξατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν προσεκύνησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν. καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς λέγων ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία κτλ.

¹⁷ xvi. 7: ἀλλὰ ὑπάγετε εἰπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε, καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν (cf. Mk. xiv. 28).

¹⁸ xxiv. 13–35: καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦσαν πορευόμενοι εἰς κώμην ἀπέχουσαν σταδίου ἐξήκοντα ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἣ ὄνομα Ἑμμαούς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὠμῖλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ πάντων τῶν συμβεβηκότων τούτων. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὁμιλεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ συνζητεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς ἐγγίσας συνεπορεύετο αὐτοῖς κτλ.

¹⁹ xxiv. 36 ff.: ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῶν λαλοῦντων αὐτὸς ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν κτλ.

²⁰ xxiv. 33^bf.: καὶ εὗρον ἡθροισμένους τοὺς ἔνδεκα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς, λέγοντας ὅτι δυντὼς ἡγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὤφθη Σίμωνι.

²¹ xx. 11–18: Μαρία δὲ εἰστέκει πρὸς τῷ μνημεῖῳ ἔξω κλαίουσα . . . ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐστῶτα κτλ.

²² xx. 19–23 [24]: οὔσης οὖν ὀψίας τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων . . . ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον . . . Θωμᾶς δὲ εἰς ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα . . . οὐκ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν ὅτε ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς.

²³ xx. 26–29: καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ πάλιν ἦσαν ἔσω οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Θωμᾶς μετ' αὐτῶν. ἔρχεται ὁ Ἰησοῦς κτλ.

seven disciples by the Sea of Tiberias in Galilee.²⁴ Acts states that the period during which Jesus appeared to his disciples extended over forty days,²⁵ and records words of Paul which point to Jerusalem as the scene of the appearances.²⁶

The most natural interpretation of this evidence in its entirety favors the view that there were appearances first in or near Jerusalem, then in Galilee, and finally in or near Jerusalem,—neglecting for the purpose of this discussion the place of the appearance to Paul.

Tradition later than the New Testament yields little or nothing of a trustworthy character. Of the endings which have been added to Mark, the longer²⁷ is composite in form, dependent on Luke and John,²⁸ and mentions appearances in or near Jerusalem—to Mary Magdalene, to two walking in the country, and to the Eleven. This ending must have been added to the Gospel in the second century,—probably before the middle of the century and in Asia Minor.²⁹ The short ending³⁰ is still later. It reports in a summary manner the delivery by the women of the message of the young man to “those about Peter”, and then records an appearance in

²⁴ xxi. 1 ff.: μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφανερώσεν ἐαυτὸν πάλιν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Τιβεριάδος κτλ.

²⁵ i. 3: οἱς καὶ παρέστησεν ἐαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς.

²⁶ xiii. 31: ὃς ὥφθη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους τοῖς συναναβάσιν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ κτλ. cf. x. 40: τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ἐμφανῇ γενέσθαι, οὐ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἀλλὰ μάρτυρσιν τοῖς προκεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡμῖν, οἵτινες συνεφέγομεν καὶ συνεπλόμεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

²⁷ xvi. 9–20: ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρίᾳ τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ . . . μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν περιπατοῦσιν ἐφανερώθη ἐν ἐτέρᾳ μορφῇ πορευόμενος εἰς ἀγρόν . . . ὕστερον δὲ ἀνακειμένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔνδεκα ἐφανερώθη κτλ.

²⁸ xvi. 9—Jno. xx. 1, 14–17, Lk. viii. 2; xvi. 10—Lk. xxiv. 11; xvi. 12—Lk. xxiv. 12–31; xvi. 14—Lk. xxiv. 41 ff.; xvi. 15—Lk. xxiv. 47; Mt. xxviii. 19; cf. Zahn, *Einleitung*⁵, ii. 1907, pp. 234, 244 f.; E. Klostermann, *Markus*, HB. ii. pp. 147 f.; Wohlenberg, *Evang. d. Markus*, ZK. ii. 1910, pp. 386 ff.

²⁹ Cf. Zahn, *Gesch. d. nt. Kanons*, ii. pp. 910 ff.; *Einleitung*, ii. pp. 232 ff.; Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in Greek*, 1882, ii, Appendix, pp. 29 ff.; Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1898, pp. xcvi. ff.

³⁰ Πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξηγγείλαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξέπστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας.

which Jesus sends forth through them—i. e. those about Peter—"the holy and incorruptible preaching of eternal salvation". No mention is made of the place or the time but it is natural to infer from the preceding context, which this ending was intended to supplement and complete, that the place was Jerusalem and the time Easter Sunday. A quotation from the Gospel according to the Hebrews³¹ (2nd century) tell of an appearance to James, the brother of the Lord, and to others,—probably in Jerusalem—but its description of the attendant circumstances is plainly secondary. The Gospel of Peter³² (2nd century) is dependent on the canonical Gospels and distinctly secondary in its account of the resurrection. It does not record an appearance to the women or to the disciples, but seems on the point of narrating an incident not unlike the appearance to the seven by the Sea of Tiberias³³ when the fragment ends abruptly. Its most distinctive feature is the description of the return of the disciples to Galilee at the end of the feast in sorrow, apparently without knowledge either of the experience of the women at the sepulchre as recorded in the canonical Gospels or of the resurrection. A Coptic document³⁴ (4th or 5th century, but thought to embody a second century narrative³⁵) contains in fragmentary form an account of an appearance to Mary, Martha and Mary Magdalene at the sepulchre and then to the disciples,—by plain implication, in Jerusalem. The Syriac Didascalia³⁶ (4th century) records an appearance to Mary Magdalene and Mary, the daughter of James, then an appearance in the house of Levi, and finally an appearance to us (i. e. the disciples),—certainly at first

³¹ Hieronymus, *Liber de viris inlustribus*, in Gebhardt u. Harnack, *TU.* xiv. 1896, p. 8; cf. Appendix, p. 351, I.

³² Cf. Appendix, p. 351, II.

³³ Jno. xxi. 1 ff.

³⁴ C. Schmidt, *SAB.* 1895, pp. 705-711; Harnack, *Theologische Studien B. Weiss dargebracht*, 1897, pp. 1-8, cf. Appendix, p. 352, III.

³⁵ Schmidt *Ibid.*; Harnack *Ibid.*; cf. Ehrhard, *Die altchrist. Literatur und ihre Erforschung von 1884-1900*, in *Strassburger Theologische Studien*, 1900, p. 146.

³⁶ Achelis und Flemming, in Gebhardt u. Harnack, *TU.* NF. x. 1904, cap. xxi; cf. Hennecke, *Neutest. Apokryphen*, 1904, pp. 292 ff.; Preuschen, *Antilegomena*², 1905, p. 81; and Appendix, pp. 352 f., IV.

near Jerusalem and subsequently in the place where this document located the house of Levi, probably in Jerusalem. Tertullian³⁷ speaks of appearances in Galilee in Judea; the Acts of Pilate³⁸ (4th century) of an appearance to Joseph of Arimathea in Jerusalem and to the disciples on the Mount of Olives in Galilee.

No theory of the place of the appearances can be based solely on the extra-canonical tradition. Appeal is generally made to this tradition in support of a particular interpretation of the primary evidence. Critical analysis of the primary evidence has yielded but three theories. The appearances—however conceived—may be held to have occurred in Galilee, in or near Jerusalem, or in both places.

THE GALILEAN THEORY

The view that the first and only resurrection-appearances of Jesus took place in Galilee is not merely wide-spread but has attained the status of a "critical tradition". It is closely associated with the theory of a "flight of the disciples to Galilee" on the night of Jesus' arrest or not later than Easter morning and without knowledge of the empty tomb or news of the resurrection.³⁹ The advocates of this view usually

³⁷ *Apol.* xxi.; cf. Appendix, p. 353, V.

³⁸ Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*², 1876, *Acta Pilati*; cf. Appendix, pp. 353 f., VI. Justin, *Dial.* li. 271 A, mentions the intention to appear again in Jerusalem (πάλιν παραγενήσεσθαι ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ) as part of Jesus' prophecies of his passion; the scattering and flight of the disciples (Mk. xiv. 27; Mt. xxvi. 31; Mk. xiv. 50; Mt. xxvi. 56) is retained but without intimation of a "flight to Galilee": *Apol.* i. 50, 86 A μετὰ οὖν τὸ σταυρωθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ γνώριμοι αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπέστησαν, ἀρνησάμενοι αὐτόν· ὕστερον δέ, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος καὶ ὀφθέντος αὐτοῖς κτλ.: *Dial.* 53, 273 C μετὰ γὰρ τὸ σταυρωθῆναι αὐτὸν οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διπτεροὶ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ διεσκέδασθησαν, μέχρις οὗτου ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ πέπεικεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι οὕτως προεπεφῆνεντο περὶ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν αὐτόν κτλ.: *Dial.* 106, 333 C μετενόησαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀφίστασθαι αὐτοῦ ὅτε ἐσταυρώθη κτλ. Tatian, beside Jerusalem and Galilee, names Capernaum (cf. Zahn, *Forschungen*, i. 1881, pp. 218 f.; Bowen, *Resurrection in NT*, p. 426); for still later literature cf. W. Bauer, *Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neuest. Apokryphen*, 1909, pp. 265 f.

³⁹ J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*³, MK. v. 1910, p. 350, characterizes the "flight" theory as a "scientific legend"; cf. Schwartzkopff, *Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi* usw., 1895, pp. 70 f., *The Prophecies of Jesus Christ*, etc. 1897, pp. 113 f.; J. A. Cramer, *ThT.* 1910, pp. 192 ff.

seek to distinguish a primary from a secondary tradition in the Gospels,—Matthew and Mark being the representatives of the one, Luke and John of the other.

Strauss says:⁴⁰ “The most important of all the differences in the history of the resurrection turns upon the question, what locality did Jesus design to be the chief theatre of his appearances after the resurrection?” After reviewing the contents of the Gospel narratives, he continues:⁴¹ “Here two questions inevitably arise; 1st, how can Jesus have directed the disciples to journey into Galilee, and yet at the same time have commanded them to remain in Jerusalem until Pentecost? and 2ndly, how could he refer them to a promised appearance in Galilee, when he had the intention of showing himself to them that very day in and near Jerusalem?” He quotes the Fragmentist [Reimarus]:⁴² “If the disciples collectively twice saw him, spoke with him, touched him, and ate with him, in Jerusalem; how can it be that they must have had to take a long journey into Galilee in order to see him?”⁴³ “According to this”, continues Strauss,⁴⁴ “we must agree with the latest criticism of the gospel of Matthew, in acknowledging the contradiction between it and the rest in relation to the locality of the appearances of Jesus after the resurrection; but, it must be asked, can we also approve the verdict of this criticism when it at once renounces the representation of the first Gospel in favor of that of the other Evangelists.” He then asks the question:⁴⁵ “which of the two divergent accounts is the best adapted to be regarded as a traditional modification and development of the other?”, and answers by maintaining the primitive character of the Matthean account. The possibility⁴⁶ “that perhaps originally only Galilean appearances of the risen Jesus were known, but that tradition gradually added appearances in Judea and Jeru-

⁴⁰ *The Life of Jesus*, translated from the fourth German edition by George Eliot, fifth ed. in one vol. 1906, p. 718.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 719.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 720.

⁴³ Cf. also the statement (p. 724) that the appearance before the Apostles in Jerusalem could not have happened because Matthew makes the eleven journey to Galilee in order to see Jesus.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 721.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 721.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 722 f.

salem, and that at length these completely supplanted the former, may on many grounds be heightened into a probability",—but chiefly on the ground that it seems to be "a natural idea".

Better knowledge of the history of the text of the New Testament has eliminated certain features of Strauss' criticism of the Gospels, but in his central contention and in some of his principles he has had many followers.

Weizsäcker⁴⁷ argues that if the disciples of Jesus withdrew after his death to Galilee, then it was there that the faith in which they returned to Jerusalem had its origin. This faith that Jesus lives, that he is risen, which furnished for Peter as it did for Paul the motive power of a life-work, originated in an appearance to Peter in Galilee. This view, he admits, is not in accord with the representation of the Gospels, but these are held to be only secondary sources in comparison with Paul's account since they are dominated by a tendency to accentuate the physical reality of the resurrection. This tendency manifests itself especially in their account of the empty grave, in the report of appearances in Jerusalem and in the ascription of bodily or physical functions to the risen Jesus. All of this is in conflict with Paul who knows nothing of the empty grave or of the appearances to the women in Jerusalem. Paul moreover gives a different description of the form of the appearances. From the fact that Paul does not mention the appearances in Jerusalem which are reported in the Gospels Weizsäcker infers ignorance of them not merely on Paul's part but on that of the leaders of the Jerusalem Church as well, for it was from them that Paul received his information about the appearances. In the earlier form of Gospel tradition (Mt.-Mk.) appearances in Galilee are reported, and only in the later form (Lk.-Jno.) are they located in Jerusalem, with ever increasing emphasis of their physical, sensible aspects. The first appearance to Peter finds only an echo in Mark⁴⁸ and is mentioned by Luke⁴⁹ in evident dependence on Paul. The Fourth Gospel mentions Peter's visit to the grave

⁴⁷ *Apos. Zeitalter*, pp. 3ff; cf. *Untersuchungen über d. evang. Geschichte*, 1901, pp. 363 ff.

⁴⁸ xvi. 7.

⁴⁹ xxiv. 34.

and only in the last chapter an appearance to him, but even then, not to him alone. Yet the fact that the first appearance was made to Peter, Weizsäcker regards as historically the most certain event in the whole of this dark period, for it alone explains the historical position of Peter who was undoubtedly the first man of the early Church.

Weizsäcker's statements characterize rather than ground the Galilean theory of the appearances; and this is true likewise of Wernle's more impassioned argument. Wernle⁵⁰ too takes as his starting point the flight and scattering of the disciples on the night of Jesus' arrest. The death of Jesus seemed for the moment to signalize the triumph of his enemies and the destruction of his cause. This appeared at first to have been realized in the scattering of the disciples. Contrary to expectation however the disciples soon assembled again, first in Galilee and then in Jerusalem. In the face of the murderers of Jesus they gave utterance to the enthusiastic cry "He is not dead; he lives!" The clever reckoning of the Sanhedrin overreached itself. The faith in the crucified and risen accomplished what the faith in the living had not been able to effect,—the founding of a new Church, the separation from Judaism and the conquest of the world. Whence came this change? The answer of the disciples was: The Lord has appeared to us, first to Peter, then to the Twelve, then to more than five hundred brethren at once, then to James, then to all the Apostles.⁵¹ From these appearances—and the first must according to the oldest account have occurred in Galilee—they inferred the resurrection of Jesus and his continued

⁵⁰ *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*², 1904, pp. 81 f.; cf. *Die syn. Frage*, 1899, pp. 246 f. Bowen's view is not unlike Wernle's. He says (*Resurrection in NT*, p. 456): "And the fact that the disciples' first feeling of amazement and terror was immediately swallowed up in the glad faith that their dear Master is alive forevermore, their heavenly friend and God's Messiah, is 'the perfect tribute' to the marvelous impression his loving personality had made on them. This is, after all, the great miracle, the impress of Jesus' personality on his disciples. It was so deep and strong, in a word, that they saw him after he had died. This is the real secret of the 'appearances'".

⁵¹ 1 Cor. xv. 5-8.

existence in a glorious state of being. The new faith thus stood on the appearances alone. Our judgment concerning these appearances will depend in a measure on our confidence in Paul and his informer; but ultimately on our philosophical and religious standpoint—on our faith. • Purely scientific considerations cannot decide in a matter that concerns the invisible world and the possibility of a communion of spirits; and, since for Christian faith the spiritual world is a reality transcending the sensible, material world, there should be no difficulty in believing that the real intervention of Jesus, though mediated by a vision, is the ground of the belief in the resurrection. The historian however cannot rest here, even though he concur in this judgment, since this would make the origin of Christianity dependent on chance, as if the cause of Jesus would or could have failed apart from this vision. In the person of Jesus was manifested a redeeming power too great and too triumphant to have been destroyed by a shameful death. Thus the appearances accomplished their far reaching effect not accidentally but because of the earlier redemptive impression of Jesus. •

P. W. Schmiedel has given a fuller statement of the grounds upon which the Galilean theory is based. He says:⁵² “An equally important point is that the first appearances happened in Galilee.” For⁵³ “the most credible statement in the Synoptics is that of Mt. (and Mk.) that the first appearances were in Galilee. The appearance in Jerusalem to the two women (Mt. xxviii. 9 f.) is almost universally given up—not only because of the silence of all the other accounts, but also because in it Jesus only repeats the direction which the women had already received through the angel. If the disciples had seen Jesus in Jerusalem as Lk. states, it would be absolutely incomprehensible how Mk. and Mt. came to require them to repair to Galilee before they could receive a manifestation of Jesus. The converse on the other hand is very easy to understand; Lk. found it inconceivable that the disciples who, according to him, were still in Jerusalem, should have been unable to see Jesus until they went to Galilee. In actual fact the

⁵² *EB.* iv. col. 4063.

⁵³ *EB.* ii. col. 1878 f.

disciples had already dispersed at Gethsemane (Mk. xiv. 50, Mt. xxvi. 56); this Lk. very significantly omits. Even Peter, after he had perceived, when he denied his Master, the dangers he incurred, will hardly have exposed himself to these, gratuitously, any longer. At the cross only women, not disciples, were present. Whither these last had betaken themselves we are not told. But it is not difficult to conjecture that they had gone to their native Galilee. The angelic command, therefore, that they should make this their rendezvous, may reasonably be taken as a veiled indication that they had already gone thither. The presupposition made both by Mk. and by Mt. that they were still in Jerusalem on the day of the resurrection is accordingly erroneous. It was this error of theirs that led Lk. to his still more erroneous inversion of the actual state of the facts." But⁵⁴ "if Galilee and Jerusalem were at first mutually exclusive, both cannot rest upon equally valid tradition; there must have been some reason why the one locality was changed for the other. . . . if Mk. and Mt. had to fall back on their own powers of conjecture, where else were they to look for appearances if not in Jerusalem where the grave, the women, and the disciples were? Thus the tradition which induced them to place the appearances in Galilee must have been one of very great stability." And again⁵⁵ "As long as there was still current knowledge that the first appearances of the risen Jesus were in Galilee, the fact could be reconciled with the presence of the disciples in Jerusalem on the morning of the resurrection only (a) on the assumption that they were then directed to go to Galilee. The natural media for conveying such a communication must have seemed to be the angels at the sepulchre in the first instance, and after them the women. So Mk. and Mt. So far as Mt. is concerned this direction to be given to the disciples was perhaps the [or a] reason . . . why the women should be made to go to the grave so early as the evening ending the Sabbath, so that the disciples might still in the course of the night have time to set out and if possible obtain a sight of Jesus within three days after his crucifixion.

⁵⁴ *EB*. iv. col. 4064.⁵⁵ *EB*. iv. col. 4072.

(b) Yet such a combination as this was altogether too strange. Why should Jesus not have appeared forthwith in Jerusalem to the disciples? Accordingly Lk. and Jn. simply suppressed the direction to go to Galilee, finding themselves unable to accept it, and transferred the appearances to Jerusalem. Or, it was not our common evangelists who did both things at one and the same time, but there had sprung up, irrespective of Mk. and Mt., the feeling that Jesus must in any case have already appeared to the disciples in Jerusalem; it presented itself to Lk. and Jn. with a certain degree of authority, and these writers had not now any occasion to invent but simply to choose what seemed to them the more probable representation, and then, when in the preparation of their respective books they reached the order to go to Galilee, merely to pass over it or get around it as no longer compatible with the new view."

This argument is interesting as a highly subjective reconstruction of a possible development of Gospel tradition regarding the place of the appearances on the hypothesis of a "flight of the disciples to Galilee." This hypothesis is maintained against all the documentary evidence,—the earlier (Mk. and Mt.) as well as the later (Lk. and Jno.), on Schmiedel's own analysis. The appearance to the women in Jerusalem—also contained in a representative of the earlier form of Gospel tradition (Mt.)—is rejected on equally subjective grounds; while the exposition of the origin and growth of the later form of Gospel tradition as embodied in Luke and John is little more than an elaboration of Strauss' principle that the tradition which reflects a "natural idea" is secondary. Of actual evidence in support of the Galilean theory Schmiedel offers nothing.

The advocates of the Galilean theory, finding so little in the Gospels that is favorable to their view and much that is opposed to it, have had recourse to later extra-canonical literature. When a fragment of the Gospel of Peter was discovered and published in 1892, Harnack⁵⁶ sought to show

⁵⁶ *Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus*², 1893, pp. 31 ff., 62.

that it contained valuable material from which the character and probable contents of the original ending of Mark might be ascertained. This view was developed by Rohrbach⁵⁷ in a form subsequently approved in its essential features by Harnack himself.⁵⁸ From Mk. xiv. 28, xvi. 7 it is inferred that the Gospel in its original form narrated an appearance in Galilee, the ending having been removed before the Gospel was used by Matthew and Luke. From internal indications it is inferred that the original ending probably contained the following: an appearance to the disciples in Galilee, some word of Jesus in reference to the continuation of his work, ignorance on the part of the disciples of the resurrection until the appearance in Galilee, and an unpreparedness of the disciples for the first appearance. The other Gospels contain no trace of the existence of such an ending, for they all imply knowledge of the resurrection before the return of the disciples to Galilee. The literary phenomena of the Gospel of Peter however show that Mk. xvi. 1-8 is the source of its narrative in verses 50-57 and it is thought probable therefore that verses 58-60 depend on the lost ending. In these verses the disciples are represented as returning to Galilee at the end of the feast in sorrow and therefore without knowledge of the resurrection. Levi is called the son of Alphaeus,—a designation found only in Mk. ii. 14. And finally the Gospel of Peter breaks off just as it is about to narrate an appearance in Galilee. The character of the original ending of Mark thus explains its loss, and the circumstances of its loss explain the fact that it was not known to Matthew or Luke; for, because it did not agree with the tradition regarding the appearances which was current in Johannine circles in Asia Minor, it was intentionally removed and the secondary ending ([Mk.] xvi. 9-20) substituted for it,—although not necessarily at just the same time. The central point in the original ending must have been the restoration of Peter. This is equally central in Jno.

⁵⁷ *Der Schluss des Markusevangeliums* usw. 1894; *Die Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu*, 1898.

⁵⁸ *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit. bis Eusebius*, ii. *Die Chronologie*, i. 1897, pp. 696 f.; *ThLz.* 1899, pp. 174 ff.; *Lukas der Arzt*, 1906, pp. 158 f.; *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, 1911, pp. 110 ff.

xxi. But this chapter does not fit well after chapter xx, for it represents the disciples as returning to their fishing and this suits only a time before they had learned of the resurrection—as in the Gospel of Peter and the original ending of Mark. The Gospel of Peter however is not dependent on Jno. xxi. The names Andrew and Levi and the designation of the appearance by the Sea as the third—manifestly a polemic against its representation as the first in the original ending of Mark—make the theory of dependence unlikely. Jno. xxi (but not verse 7 or the narrative about John at the close) is either a paraphrase of the original ending of Mark or an express criticism of it. According to Lk. xxiv. 34, 1 Cor. xv. 5 the first appearance was made to Peter; and it is probable therefore that in the original ending of Mark the first appearance in Galilee was represented as made to Peter alone. This was doubtless followed by an appearance to the Twelve (1 Cor. xv. 5) in Galilee (implied in Mark) and possibly in the evening at a meal (Lk.-Jno.). The alteration to which Mark was subjected moreover is not isolated but has in the other Gospels parallels which probably had their origin in the same circles.⁵⁹ This process of alteration was dominated by the tendency to substitute another tradition of the appearances for that of the original ending of Mark, that is,—to substitute Jerusalem for Galilee as the place of the first appearances, and to subordinate the appearance to Peter.

The central contention of this theory is the knowledge and use of the original ending of Mark by the Gospel of Peter. But the evidence for this is far from being conclusive. The return of the disciples to Galilee without knowledge of the resurrection is implied in the Gospel of Peter, but this is certainly a secondary feature closely connected with the tendency which characterizes its description of the resurrection.⁶⁰ The coincidence with Mk. ii. 14 does not prove knowledge and use of an original ending; while Luke by mentioning the appearance to Peter⁶¹ falls out of its rôle, and John's

⁵⁹ Jno. xxi.; Mt. xxviii. 9-10; Lk. xxiv. 12; [Mk.] xvi. 9-20.

⁶⁰ Schubert, *Die Composition des pseudopetrinischen Evangelienfragments*, 1893, pp. 140 ff.

⁶¹ xxiv. 34.

“polemic” third receives its character from the theory.⁶²

W. Brückner⁶³ maintains against Rohrbach the dependence of [Mk.] xvi. 9-20 on Luke and John. Lk. xxiv with its bold transfer of the appearances from Galilee to Jerusalem is older; but it is dependent on Mk. xvi. 1-8. In Lk. xxiv. 6, Mk. xvi. 7 (xiv. 28) is intentionally changed. The narrative of the appearance to the disciples at Emmaus has its origin in the dogmatic reflection and poetic art that created the allegories in iv. 16-30, v. 1-10, vii. 36-49. Jno. xx is dependent on Lk. xxiv and Mk. xvi, but its narrative is purely allegorical, the different characters being merely typical stages of the faith in the glorified Christ. Thus the tradition which locates the appearances in Jerusalem is Lucan rather than Johannine. The Gospel of Peter and Jno. xxi furnish no support to the Galilean localization, for it is not certain that the former depends on the lost ending of Mark and the latter occupies its proper place in an allegorical narrative. Matthew indeed is dependent on Luke but its rejection of the Jerusalem for the Galilean localization is deliberate.

The theory of a Lucan transformation of the primitive Galilean localization of the appearances is carried forward by Völter in his analysis of the Emmaus narrative.⁶⁴ Völter holds that Jno. xxi and the last verses of the Gospel of Peter are derived from the lost ending of Mark which contained not only an appearance to Peter but also an appearance to the disciples in Galilee, in both of which Jesus was made known in the breaking of bread. The Galilean location of the appearance to Peter is implied in Mark, Luke, the Gospel ac-

⁶² Cf. L. Brun, *ThStKr.* 1911, p. 167. Spitta, *Das Johannes-Evangelium* usw. 1910, pp. 3 ff., explains τοῦτο ἤδη τρίτον of xxi. 14 by coördination in the series ii. 11 (ταύτην ἐποίησεν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων at Cana) and iv. 54 (τοῦτο (πάλιν) δεύτερον σημεῖον ἐποίησεν at Cana-Capernaum). Chapter xxi was added and transformed by a “Bearbeiter” from a document which recounted the incident of Peter’s call in the beginning of Jesus’ Galilean ministry. But much of Spitta’s literary analysis is over subtle and its subjectivity here is not transcended by the proposed—but extremely improbable—coördination and the hypothesis of redaction.

⁶³ *PrM.* 1899, pp. 41 ff., 76 ff., 153 ff.

⁶⁴ *Die Entstehung des Glaubens an die Auferstehung Jesu*, 1910; *PrM.* 1911, pp. 61ff.

cording to the Hebrews, and the Didascalía. Luke indeed locates this appearance near Jerusalem, but Cleopas is simply a transformation of Clopas⁶⁵ and his unnamed companion is no other than Peter⁶⁶ while Emmaus was a town in Galilee between Tiberias and Tarichäa.⁶⁷ The Gospel according to the Hebrews has also transformed this appearance, substituting, under the influence of its Jewish Christian tendency, James for Peter and Jerusalem for Galilee. The Didascalía witnesses to it by its account of an appearance in a house [of Levi] in Galilee. The second appearance was also in Galilee and to the Apostles. This is implied in Mark and witnessed to by Matthew, Luke, the Gospel according to the Hebrews in Ignatius,⁶⁸ the Didascalía, the Gospel of Peter, and Jno. xxi. Luke transferred this appearance also to Jerusalem. The appearance to the Apostles in the Gospel according to the Hebrews is parallel with Lk. xxiv. 36ff but is drawn from Luke's source, in which the location was Galilee and the occasion at a meal. This is the situation implied also in the Didascalía where the appearance "to us" is followed by instructions regarding fasting. This is the appearance implied likewise in the Gospel of Peter, for the mention of others beside Peter shows that the appearance was not to Peter alone. Jno. xxi depends on the same source and describes this appearance with addition of distinctively Johannine elements.⁶⁹

The subjectivity of Völter's criticism by which Luke is transformed into a witness to the Galilean localization of the appearances reaches its climax when, in the attempt to forestall an impression of arbitrariness, it is said:⁷⁰ "If any one be disposed to call this criticism of the Lucan narrative of the Emmaus disciples arbitrary, we reply that it is absolutely necessary and that the Apostle Paul,—the author of 1 Cor. xv. 5—had he been able to read the narrative of Lk, would have subjected it to similar treatment. If arbitrariness is to be found at all, then it is certainly on the side of Luke."

⁶⁵ Identified with Peter in *Die Entstehung* usw. p. 39.

⁶⁶ *PrM.* 1911, p. 64.

⁶⁷ *PrM.* 1911, p. 64.

⁶⁸ *Ad. Smyrn.* iii. 1, 2; cf. Appendix, pp. 352 f., IV.

⁶⁹ *Die Entstehung* usw. p. 52.

⁷⁰ *PrM.* 1911, p. 65.

Völter thought it strange that no account of the appearance to Peter should have been preserved in Gospel tradition, and upon investigation was persuaded that it lay hidden in the story of the walk to Emmaus. His hypothesis however was beset with local difficulties, for this appearance—on the Galilean theory—must have occurred in Galilee. It was not unnatural therefore that some incident with a distinctly Galilean setting should prove more enticing to independent and hardy discoverers. Mt. xxviii. 16 mentions a mountain as the scene of the Galilean appearance, and the Synoptic Gospels locate the transfiguration of Jesus on a mountain. Moreover the narratives of the transfiguration have been interpreted as merely symbolical⁷¹ or as reflecting a faith already influenced by belief in the resurrection.⁷² It was not surprising therefore, that Wellhausen⁷³ should venture upon the supposition that the transfiguration story is actually a resurrection narrative and perhaps the oldest in the Gospels,—Peter being the first to recognize the transfigured Christ.

But this view does not satisfy the statement of Paul,⁷⁴ which implies an appearance to Peter alone; and it leaves no place for the doubt of the disciples.⁷⁵ The narrative clearly reflects some other incident in the experience of Peter.⁷⁶ For these reasons Kreyenbühl⁷⁷ rejects Wellhausen's theory in part.

⁷¹ C. H. Weisse, *Die evangelische Geschichte*, 1838, i, p. 541; ii. p. 400; *Die Evangelienfrage*, 1856, pp. 255 ff.; Weizsäcker, *Apos. Zeitalter*, p. 397; Loisy, *Les Évangiles synoptiques*, ii. 1909, p. 29.

⁷² Holtzmann, *HC. i. Die Synoptiker*³, 1901, p. 86; Bacon, *AJTh.* 1902, p. 259; Goodspeed, *AJTh.* 1905, p. 448; Case, *AJTh.* 1909, p. 184; cf. Loisy, *Évang. syn.* ii. p. 40; Bowen, *Resurrection in NT.* pp. 419f; H. Meltzer, *PrM.* 1902, pp. 154 ff. (locating the first appearance to Peter on Tabor, the traditional mount of the transfiguration, where Peter and John and Levi had stopped over night on their flight from Jerusalem to Galilee).

⁷³ *Das Evangelium Marci*, 1903, p. 77; cf. van den Bergh van Eysinga, *Indische Einflüsse auf die evangelische Erzählungen*, 1904, pp. 62 f.; Loisy, *Évang. syn.* ii. p. 39; identified by W. Erbt, *Das Marcusevangelium* usw. 1911, p. 35, with the ascension; cf. also the criticism of this view by Spitta, *ZwTh.* 1911, p. 165.

⁷⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 5; cf. Lk. xxiv. 34.

⁷⁵ Mt. xxviii. 17.

⁷⁶ Identified by Kreyenbühl with Acts ii. 1 ff.

⁷⁷ *ZNW.* 1908, pp. 257-296; van den Bergh van Eysinga, *Indische Ein-*

The transfiguration story was originally a resurrection narrative, but it does not recount the first appearance to Peter. The oldest narrative of this incident is rather to be found in the description of Jesus' walking on the water⁷⁸ and its variants.⁷⁹ The story in its original form is thought to have come from Peter and to have formed part of the primitive Gospel of the Jerusalem Church.⁸⁰ It describes in the language of fantasy the experience through which Peter passed from popular ghost-fear to belief in the resurrection, i. e. to the eschatologico-apocalyptic belief that Jesus was the exalted Messiah. This belief transformed both Peter and Jesus. Through Peter's influence others were led to a similar faith, first the Twelve, then more than five hundred. This is the meaning of the two narratives of Jesus' walking on the water and the transfiguration on the mount. Both are resurrection narratives and recount the genesis and growth of the resurrection-faith first in Peter and the other disciples in Galilee and then in the five hundred or more in Jerusalem,—the mount in the transfiguration narrative being merely the figurative mount of revelation.⁸¹

flüsse, p. 47; O. Schmiedel, *Die Hauptprobleme der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*², 1906, pp. 81 f.; cf. Bowen, *Resurrection in NT*. p. 417 n. 1.

⁷⁸ Mt. xiv. 22-23.

⁷⁹ Mk. iv. 35-41; vi. 42-52; Mt. viii. 23-27.

⁸⁰ The relation of the variants to the original is conceived as follows: Peter first told the story in Aramaic; this was translated into Greek by John Mark and formed the concluding part of the primitive Gospel of the Jerusalem Church before 70 AD; it was then transformed by a Gentile Christian of the West into a magical stilling of a sea storm; the redactor of Mark's Gospel took the story of the storm from oral tradition (Mk. iv. 35-41) and himself produced another variant of the original (Mk. vi. 42-52); finally the redactor of Matthew both preserved the original, which he inserted in Mark's order (Mt. xiv. 22-23), and added in dependence on Mark his variant of the storm (viii. 23-27).

⁸¹ On the Galilean theory cf. C. H. Weisse, *Evang. Gesch.* ii. 349 ff., 358 f., 386, 416; Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, iii. 1872, pp. 533ff; W. Brandt, *Evangelische Geschichte*, 1893, pp. 337 ff.; Pfeiderer, *Urchristentum*, i. pp. 2 ff., 395; P. W. Schmidt, *Die Geschichte Jesu*, ii. 1904, pp. 401 ff.; O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 1901, pp. 390 ff.; N. Schmidt, *The Prophet of Nazareth*, 1905, pp. 392 ff.; A. Meyer, *Auferstehung*, usw. pp. 127 ff.; Bousset,

THE JERUSALEM THEORY

In opposition to the theory which locates the first appearances in Galilee, Loofs,⁸² in dependence on the Luke-John tradition, seeks to establish the theory of localization in and about Jerusalem. He argues that the theory which locates the appearances in Galilee, in the form which denies as in that which accepts the historicity of the empty grave on the third day, is untenable. For the flight of the disciples⁸³ was not a "flight to Galilee." On the contrary Mk. xvi. 7⁸⁴ implies their presence in Jerusalem on Easter morning. This theory moreover finds no support in Justin.⁸⁵ It rests chiefly on Mark. But Mark was not written by an eye-witness, and the lost ending is an unknown quantity. The Papian tradition regarding the Petrine source of Mark may have had no other basis than 1 Pet. v. 13, and there is no sufficient reason for supposing that the contents of the lost ending are preserved in Jno. xxi. 1 Cor. xv. 5 favors Jerusalem as the place of the appearance to Peter. It is more probable therefore that the Matthew-Mark tradition is, like the Synoptic account of Jesus' public ministry, one-sidedly Galilean. And finally Mark is the only source of this tradition; for there is no proof that Matthew had any other basis for the Galilean localization. The Gospel of Peter depends on Mark. Lk. xxiv. 34 cannot be

SNT. ii. p. 148; Loisy, *Évang. syn.* ii. pp. 741ff; Bacon, *The Founding of the Church*, 1909, pp. 25 ff., *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*, 1909, pp. xvii f., xl, 190 ff.; Edmunds, *OC.* 1910, pp. 130 ff.; Bowen, *Resurrection in NT.* pp. 150 ff., 430, 432 f., 440 n. 1; Conybeare, *Myth, Magic and Morals*, 1909, pp. 291 f., 301 ff.

⁸² *Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert*, 1908; cf. the account of the origin of the Galilean tradition by Holsten, *Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus*, 1868, pp. 119, 156 ff.—under the influence of an anti-Pauline polemic; by Hilgenfeld, *ZwTh.* 1868, pp. 73f, *Nov. Test. ex. Can.* iv. *Evang. sec. Heb.* 1866, pp. 29 ff.—under the influence of a redaction favorable to the Gentile Christian Church; by Korff, *Auferstehung Christi* usw. pp. 47 ff., 92, 104 f.—under the influence of a Marcan apologetic against the derivation of the appearances from the empty tomb.

⁸³ Mk. xiv. 50.

⁸⁴ Also Mt. xxviii. 10.

⁸⁵ *Dial.* 53 p. 180 C; 106 p. 378 C; *Apol.* i. 50 p. 136 A; cf. above note 38.

separated from its context and assigned to another (Galilean) source; and Jno. xxi, although it describes the first appearance, is proven to be inaccurate by 1 Corinthians and may well be dependent on the Synoptic tradition. On the other hand the tradition of Luke-John is commended as trustworthy by its agreement with Paul, although Luke adds the appearance to the disciples at Emmaus and John the appearance to Mary Magdalene. Luke moreover shows by his narrative of the last journey to Jerusalem that he had access to a special source, and John embodies Johannine tradition. Mt. xxviii. 16ff may correspond with 1 Cor. xv. 6, but Lk. xxiv. 49 excludes the Galilean localization. The Galilean appearance in Jno. xxi is discredited on the same ground and also by internal inconsistency. The rehabilitation of Peter⁸⁶ manifestly belongs to the first appearance. Its Galilean setting is due to its false connection with xxi. 1-14,—a connection which is shown to be unhistorical by Paul's silence and may have had its origin in Lk. v. 1-4.

The two principal pillars upon which this theory rests—the reference of Lk. xxiv. 49 to the whole period between Easter and Pentecost, and the silence of Paul—are weak in themselves and quite insufficient to support the structure that is built upon them. The Marcan tradition, with its indication of Galilee, cannot be discredited by a vague suspicion regarding its ultimate Petrine source or by the argument from silence since the Gospel in its earliest transmitted form is incomplete. There is no evidence for rejecting the Galilean location of the appearance recorded in Mt. xxviii. 16 ff, for Paul is equally silent about Jerusalem. And if the Mark-Matthew tradition gives evidence of an appearance in Galilee no reason remains for the proposed transformation, analysis and derivation of Jno. xxi.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ xxi, 15-19 (23).

⁸⁷ J. A. Cramer's advocacy of the Jerusalem tradition (*ThT.* 1910, pp. 189-222) is scarcely less negative in its treatment of the Galilean tradition. The two traditions are thought to be mutually exclusive. All the documentary evidence, it is held, witnesses to the presence of the disciples in Jerusalem on the day of the resurrection, and the theory both of the flight to Galilee and of the first and special appearance to Peter in Galilee is

In the interest of the Jerusalem localization of the appearances appeal has been made to a geographical tradition in which mention is made of a Galilee near Jerusalem. According to this tradition the peak to the north of the Mount of Olives or the entire region including the Mount of Olives bore the name Galilee in the time of Jesus. The words of Jesus and of the angel⁸⁸ have reference to this Galilee and were so understood by the disciples. The appearances therefore, with the exception of the one described in Jno. xxi, occurred in or near Jerusalem. Evidence for this view is sought in the Old Testament, especially in Joshua⁸⁹ and Ezekiel;⁹⁰ but even if the word was used of different parts of Palestine in the sense of boundry and in particular of the boundary of the territory of Benjamin near Jerusalem, this usage would require other evidence to prove its influence in the time of Jesus. For this, appeal is made to the Acts of Pilate⁹¹ and to Tertullian.⁹² According to the one the Mount of Olives was in Galilee; according to the other Galilee was in Judea. If Tertullian knew the Acts of Pilate, they must belong in some form at least to the second century. His language⁹³ however finds a natural explanation in the usage of the time.⁹⁴ No other trace of this tradition appears until the Pilgrim literature of the middle

opposed by intrinsic and traditional probability. The Jerusalem tradition is well accredited and explains the character of early Christian faith and the origin of the Church in Jerusalem. Two possibilities are proposed for the origin of the Galilean tradition: either (a) from appearances there such as the appearance to more than five hundred of which very little is known—Mt. xxviii. 16ff reflecting a vague Galilean tradition but freely supplying details of place and persons; or (b) from an erroneous combination of the call (Mk. i. 16-20) and restoration (Jno. xxi. 11-19) of Peter with a wonderful catch of fish (Lk. v. 1-11; Jno. xxi. 2-11). If the second of these possibilities be true, the whole Galilean tradition must, as Cramer says (p. 218), be consigned to the realm of legend. This argument, however, in its negative aspect, like the argument of Loofs, suffers from its insistence on the exclusive character of the Jerusalem tradition.

⁸⁸ Mt. xxvi. 37; Mk. xiv. 28; Mt. xxviii. 7, 10; Mk. xvi. 7.

⁸⁹ xviii. 11-20, xv. 1-15.

⁹⁰ xlvii. 8.

⁹¹ Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*; cf. Appendix, pp. 353 f., VI.

⁹² *Apol.* xxi.; cf. Appendix, p. 353, V.

⁹³ *Apud Galilæam Iudæae regionem.*

⁹⁴ Schürer, *ThLz.* 1897, pp. 187 f.

ages. Use of it to interpret the tradition of the Gospels in regard to the place of the appearances had a beginning in the eighteenth century. In 1832 Thilo⁹⁵ reviewed the evidence and literature. Impressed by Thilo's note, R. Hofmann⁹⁶ increased the references to the mediæval Pilgrim literature and A. Resch⁹⁷ has sought to bridge the chasm between the Acts of Pilate and the New Testament times by investigating the Old Testament usage. The theory has found advocates in Lepsius,⁹⁸ Thomsen,⁹⁹ and Kresser;¹⁰⁰ but there has been no increase in the evidence,—which is ultimately reducible to the Acts of Pilate. Until these are shown to contain a trustworthy tradition of the geography of Palestine in the time of Jesus the theory must inevitably yield before the plain implications of a uniform New Testament usage.¹⁰¹

THE DOUBLE TRADITION

The Gospels witness plainly to appearances of Jesus in or near Jerusalem and in Galilee. This is true both of the Synoptic and of the Johannine tradition. Even among the separate Gospels, Luke alone records appearances only in one general locality. It is therefore highly probable that the appearances were not restricted to a single place and that consequently the two traditions should not be set over the one against the

⁹⁵ *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, i. 1832, pp. 617 ff.

⁹⁶ *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, 1851, pp. 393 ff.; *Ueber den Berg Galiläa*, 1856; *Auf dem Oelberg*, 1896.

⁹⁷ Gebhardt und Harnack, *TU*. 1894, x. 2, pp. 381 ff.; *Das Galiläa bei Jerusalem*, 1910; *Der Auferstandene in Galiläa bei Jerusalem*, 1911.

⁹⁸ *Reden und Abhandlungen*, iv. *Die Auferstehungsberichte*, 1902.

⁹⁹ *BG*. 1906, pp. 352 ff.

¹⁰⁰ *ThQ*. 1911, pp. 505 ff.; cf. Zimmermann, *ThStKr*. 1901, p. 447.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Romberg, *NkZ*. 1901, pp. 289 ff.; Zahn, *Gesch. d. nt. Kanons*, ii. pp. 937 f.; *NkZ*. 1903, pp. 770 ff.; Edgar, *Exp*. 1897, ii. pp. 119 ff.; Conybeare, *StBE*. iv. 1896, pp. 59 ff.; Voigt, *Die ältesten Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, 1906, p. 81; A. Meyer, *Auferstehung usw.* pp. 95 ff.; Harnack, *Chronologie*, i. pp. 603 ff.; Schubert, *Pseudopetrin. Evang.* pp. 176 ff., 185; Stülcken, in Hennecke, *Handbuch z. d. nt. Apokryphen*, 1904, pp. 143 ff.; Riggenbach, *ThLBl*. 1910, pp. 537 f.; Bowen, *Resurrection in NT*. pp. 350 ff., 440 n. 1; Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 1911, pp. 254 f.; cf. below note 134.

other as mutually exclusive. It has indeed been affirmed that the opposition of the Galilean and the Jerusalem tradition constitutes the primary condition of an intelligent criticism of the narratives of the resurrection,¹⁰² and undoubtedly this opinion seems to have become so axiomatic an historical premise that its acceptance is no longer felt to constitute a peculiar virtue. Certain even of those who admit a factual basis underlying the two-fold tradition of the Gospels do not hesitate to speak disparagingly of the "usual harmonistic method of addition".¹⁰³ The denial of the critical basis of the Galilean theory is of course destructive of that theory, and the method of addition—however good in itself—can serve no useful purpose for those who are persuaded that the problem demands a different process for its solution.

Just as the tradition of the empty sepulchre is retained by certain representatives of the Galilean theory to explain the form of the disciples' faith,¹⁰⁴ so appearances in Jerusalem are admitted to explain the origin of the Lk.-Jno. tradition by a writer who still adheres to the priority of the Galilean appearances. Von Dobschütz¹⁰⁵ holds that the first appearance was made to Peter in Galilee. The disciples had returned in deep despondency and were about to take up again their old trade. They had dreamed a dream,—a beautiful dream with its vision of thrones and judgment; but it was only a dream, and back they must go to their fish-nets, when suddenly—at the psychological moment—the Lord intervenes (Jno. xxi) and, by quickening again their faith in his Messiahship, makes them fishers of men. Their mission leads them to Jerusalem where they are met by some who had seen Jesus.¹⁰⁶ Subsequently Jesus appears to the five hundred at Pentecost.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Bousset, *ThLz.* 1897, p. 73.

¹⁰³ von Dobschütz, *Probleme des apostolischen Zeitalters*, 1904, p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ Völter, *Die Entstehung usw.*; cf. Loofs, *Auferstehungsberichte usw.* pp. 18.

¹⁰⁵ *Probleme usw.*; cf. Clemen, *Paulus usw.* i. 1904, pp. 204 ff.; Lake, *Hist. Evidence*, etc., p. 212.

¹⁰⁶ Lk. xxiv. 13 f.; cf. also Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth*, ii. 1906, pp. 426 ff.; Stapfer, *La mort et la résurrection de Jésus Christ*, 1898, pp. 231 ff.

¹⁰⁷ Jno. xx. 21-23; Acts ii. 1 ff.; cf. Ostern und Pfingsten, 1903; Weisse, *Evang. Gesch.* ii. p. 417; Steck, *Der Galaterbrief*, 1888, p. 186; Pfleiderer,

A less dramatic but more penetrating discussion of the double tradition is given by T. S. Rördam.¹⁰⁸ Two principal difficulties confront the theory of a twofold location,—the apparent exclusion of appearances in Galilee by Luke, and the apparent exclusion of an appearance to the disciples in Jerusalem by Matthew-Mark. Rördam seeks to meet these difficulties by literary analysis. Luke is thought to have followed a source of Jerusalem origin in which two Jerusalem appearances—one on Easter Sunday and one at the time of the ascension some forty days later—had been combined. The combination was not made by Luke but had already taken place in the oral tradition, so that verse 47 appears as the natural continuation of verse 46; whereas the proper place for the Galilean appearance implied in Mark is immediately after verse 46. As the result of this the command to tarry in Jerusalem¹⁰⁹ seemed to exclude the Galilean appearances, and the reference to Galilee¹¹⁰ assumed its vaguer form. The occasion of the Jerusalem appearances was the unbelief of the disciples.

But are such appearances really excluded by the contents of the lost ending of Mark? If Matthew and Luke used Mark, and Luke follows another source in chapter xxiv, the contents of the Marcan ending must be sought in Matthew.¹¹¹

Urchristentum, i. pp. 10 f.; Harnack, *Chronologie*, i. pp. 707 f.; Bowen, however (*Resurrection in NT*. pp. 430 n. 1, 433) more logically—but without evidence—locates the origin of the Church in Galilee.

¹⁰⁸ *HJ.* 1905, pp. 769-790; cf. also Feine, *Eine vorkanon. Überlieferung d. Lukas*, 1891, pp. 72 ff., 160 ff.; Zimmermann, *ThStKr.* 1901, pp. 438 ff.; Allen, *St. Matthew, ICC.* 1907, pp. 302 ff.; B. Weiss, *Die Quellen d. Lukas-evangeliums*, 1907, pp. 230 ff.

¹⁰⁹ xxiv. 49.

¹¹⁰ xxiv. 6; cf. Mk. xvi. 7.

¹¹¹ Cf. Weisse, *Evang. Gesch.* ii. p. 359 f.; Volkmar, *Die Evangelien* usw. 1870, pp. 241, 608 ff.; Wright, *Some New Testament Problems*, 1898, pp. 122 f.; Goodspeed *AJTh.* 1905, pp. 484 ff. says (p. 488): "The narrative of Mark, when it breaks off with 16:8, evidently demands just two things for its completion; the reassurance of the women, and the reappearance of Jesus in Galilee. These two things Matthew records, and the conclusion seems inevitable that he derived them from his chief narrative source, the gospel of Mark." Cf. also Plummer, *Commentary on St. Matthew*, 1910, pp. 412 f.; 421 f.; and on the other hand Bowen, *Resurrection in NT*. pp. 164 ff., 166 n. 2 and, for reconstruction of the contents of the lost ending, pp. 161 f.

Mark cannot have intended his Gospel to end with the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, and neither can he have intended to say that the women never told of their experience. But as it is unlikely that the women were afraid of the angel, we may complete the unfinished sentence: "for they were afraid that it might not be true". Consequently an appearance of Jesus to confirm the message of the angel is not only probable in itself but is recorded by Mt. xxviii. 9-12.¹¹² Mk. xvi. 7 implies an appearance to Peter and in Galilee. But as the disciples, according to Mark, were still in Jerusalem, their unbelief may have caused an appearance there. Matthew indeed represents the appearance to the Eleven in Galilee as the fulfilment of the promise in xxviii. 7 (Mk. xvi. 7); but the definite mountain in xxviii. 16 implies an appearance to the Eleven in Jerusalem, and the doubt of some in xxviii. 17 suits this better than a later occasion. This allusion to an appearance to the disciples in Jerusalem Matthew derived from Mark,¹¹³ the

¹¹² Spitta, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums*, iii. 2, 1907, pp. 112 ff., argues that inasmuch as Mk. xiv. 28, xvi. 7 imply an appearance in Galilee, the author must have intended to conclude his Gospel with a narrative similar to Mt. xxviii. 16-20. But Mk. xvi. 7 contains also a message to be delivered by the women to the disciples. Luke and John report its delivery but Mark closes with the statement of a hindrance, which can, however, have been only the introduction to an account of its removal, and most naturally by an appearance of Jesus. General recognition of this has been hindered by the hypothesis that the oldest tradition—represented in Mark—reported appearances only in Galilee. As the Marcan text demands even more plainly than Matthew an appearance to the women in Jerusalem, Matthew must have known the original ending of Mark and furnishes—rather than Jno. xxi—information concerning its contents. Cf. also *Streitfragen der Geschichte Jesu*, 1907, pp. 78 f. where the literary parallels are given, especially the Marcan *ἐφυγον, τρόμος, καὶ ἔκστασις* with Mt. *ἀπελθεῖσαι ταχύ, μετὰ φόβου καὶ χάρας μεγάλης*; the Marcan *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* with Mt. *μὴ φοβείσθε*. The criticism of Brun, *ThStKr.* 1911, pp. 168 f., does not break the force of Spitta's argument in so far as it concerns the implications of the closing verse of Mark and the support that it lends to Matthew's report of the appearance to the women. Cf. also Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*. ii. 1909, pp. 201 f.

¹¹³ This is seen also in the fact that Matthew does not mention the delivery of the women's message to the disciples, and in the fact that the mountain in Galilee is said to have been appointed—not to the women—but to the disciples. This allusive or "hinting" feature of the narrative

Marcan account being omitted because of an unwillingness to chronicle the doubts of the disciples.¹¹⁴ The original conclusion of Mark thus contained, according to Rörðam, three appearances in Jerusalem,—to the women, to Peter, and to the Apostles. Then followed an appearance to the disciples generally in Galilee,—agreeing in order with the source of Luke. Mark probably contained also some parting appearance of Jesus similar to that described in Lk. xxiv. 47-53, Acts i. 4-12, 1 Cor. xv. 7,—for this was part of the apostolic tradition. It is not contained in Matthew because it was probably lost from the copy of Mark used by Matthew.

Rörðam's theory depends mainly on two things: his reconstruction of the source of Lk. xxiv and his conception of the contents of the lost ending of Mark. Of these the latter is the more crucial. Is the method which follows Matthew as guide more satisfactory than that which follows the Gospel of Peter? Must we be content with a non liquet, or is there a reasonable minimum of inference from Mk. xvi. 7-8 that may be safely made? To this minimum Lyder Brun¹¹⁵ reckons an appearance before the disciples in Galilee, but prior to this an appearance to Peter in Jerusalem—possibly also an appearance to the disciples in Jerusalem. In agreement with Spitta¹¹⁶ it is maintained that the meaning of *πρὸς* in Mk. xiv. 28, Mt. xxvi. 32 is determined by the reference in the context to the shepherd and the scattered sheep. After his resurrection Jesus is to gather his scattered disciples and lead them back to

is responsible for the impression, produced by xxviii. 17, that some of the Apostles doubted, "though the narrator clearly meant to say that the apostles adored, but some of the other disciples doubted" (p. 785).

¹¹⁴ This appears in the silence of Matthew about the doubt of the women which is thought to have been the occasion of the appearance in xxviii. 9-10.

¹¹⁵ *ThStKr.* 1911, pp. 157-180.

¹¹⁶ *Zur Gesch. u. Lit. d. Urchristentums*, iii. pp. 111 ff.; *Streitfragen der Gesch. Jesu*, pp. 74 ff.; cf. also Zimmermann, *ThStKr.* 1901, pp. 446 f.; Riegenbach, *Aus Schrift u. Geschichte*, 1898, p. 138; J. Weiss, *SNT.* i. p. 208; Cramer, *ThT.* 1910, pp. 200 ff.; on the other hand Bowen, *Resurrection in NT.* p. 196, sees in *πρὸς* of Mk. xiv. 28 a prophecy *ex eventu* which witnesses to the "flight of the disciples to Galilee"; cf. pp. 148, 200 f.

Galilee. Mk. xvi. 7 adds to this the promise that the disciples would see Jesus in Galilee. The special mention of Peter is due to the interpretation of Mk. xiv. 28 as a call to go to Galilee. But the silence of the women prepares for an appearance to Peter in Jerusalem, that, being himself strengthened, he might gather the scattered disciples and lead them back to Galilee.¹¹⁷

In the light of Mk. xvi. 7 there are four possible inferences regarding the contents of the lost ending:

(1) The women say nothing and the disciples return to Galilee without knowledge of the empty grave or the message of the angel,—as in the Gospel of Peter.

(2) The silence of the women, caused as it was by fear, lasted but a short time, after which,—having recovered self-possession—they delivered the message of the angel,—as in the short ending of Mark.¹¹⁸

(3) The fear of the women was overcome by an appearance of Jesus, after which they delivered their message,¹¹⁹—in which case there seems to be no place for a special appearance to Peter, unless the message met with unbelief¹²⁰ and this was overcome by the appearance to Peter.¹²¹

(4) Since the women said nothing to the disciples or to Peter, Jesus appeared to Peter in Jerusalem¹²² and directed the disciples to go to Galilee.¹²³

The second of these possibilities is set aside because it weakens the force of *οὐδενὶ οὐδέν εἶπον*; the first because the "flight" theory is excluded by Mark and there is no conclusive evidence that the Gospel of Peter knew the original ending of Mark; the third because there is no sufficient evidence that Matthew knew the original ending of Mark. The fourth possibility however avoids both the weakening of *οὐδενὶ οὐδέν εἶπον* and the doubling of the message to the women.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Lk. xxi. 32, xxiv. 34; 1 Cor. xv. 5.

¹¹⁸ *πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν κτλ.*
Cf. Mt. xxviii. 8; Lk. xxiv. 9.

¹¹⁹ Mt. xxviii. 9-10.

¹²⁰ Lk. xxiv. 11, 22-24; [Mk.] xvi. 10.

¹²¹ Lk. xxiv. 34.

¹²² Lk. xxiv. 34; cf. xxii. 32.

¹²³ Mt. xxviii. 16.

The appearance to Peter corresponds also with the special reference to him in the message of the angel and with the place assigned to it by Paul. The parallel with Luke is close; and it is not improbable that the appearance to James in the Gospel according to the Hebrews is simply a transformation of the appearance to Peter. The reference to Galilee in Mark and Matthew is to be explained by the prominence assigned to Galilee in their account of the ministry of Jesus,¹²⁴ by the prophecy in Mk. xiv. 28, and by the significance of the Galilean appearances for the vocation¹²⁵ of the Apostles. In Luke the intervening step between the first and the last appearances in Jerusalem—the appearances in Galilee—fell away because the later activity of the Apostles, in which Luke was particularly interested, was connected with Jerusalem.

Even a minimum of inference from Mk. xvi. 7-8 regarding the contents of the original ending of the Gospel is rejected by those who maintain that the Gospel ended originally—whether in intention or in fact—with xvi. 8.¹²⁶ The statement of

¹²⁴ Spitta, *Streitfragen*, p. 81, formulates the problem concerning the place of the appearances as follows: The question is not, Did the earliest tradition know of appearances in Judea?—all the sources agree in this—but, Did Galilee originally come into consideration in this part of the history of Jesus? He concludes from his investigation of the geographical disposition of the life of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels that the underlying document (*Grundschrift*) did not contain the Galilean appearances,—which were first added in their recension of this document by Mark-Matthew.

¹²⁵ *Berufsbewusstsein*.

¹²⁶ B. Weiss, *Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas*,⁶ 1901, *Mk.* i. 2, p. 245. Zahn, *Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, ii. p. 930; *Einleitung*, ii., pp. 238 ff.; Riggenbach, *Aus Schrift und Geschichte*, p. 126; so also Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci*, 1903, p. 146—though from a different point of view and for a different reason; cf. H. J. Holtzmann, *HC.* i.³, 1901, p. 183; O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 1901, p. 390; R. A. Hoffmann, *Das Marcusevangelium*, 1904, p. 641; Wendling, *Die Entstehung des Marcus-Evangeliums*, 1908, p. 201—the earliest form of the narrative ends with ἐξήνευσεν Mk. xv. 37; cf. the text in his *Ur-Marcus*, 1905, p. 59; Zimmermann, *ThStKr.* 1901, p. 148, ends his AQ source with Mk. xvi. 8 and thinks that the reference to the silence of the women not only indicates the absence of their story from earlier tradition but explains its first appearance in this source (cf. Bowen, *Resurrection in NT.* pp. 157 f., 180 ff.). J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*, 1903, pp. 340 ff., explains the silence of the women about the empty tomb from the apologetic reference of the story to the Jews (p. 340) and

Riggenbach¹²⁷ that there is no tradition which relates exclusively Galilean appearances seems to be true of the later as of the earlier tradition.¹²⁸ The Galilean theory rests entirely, in the last analysis, on an inference, for the sake of which practically all the documentary evidence is traversed.

There is indeed some difference of opinion among the advocates of the double tradition about the duration of the first appearances in Jerusalem. Zahn¹²⁹ locates the appearance described in Jno. xx. 26-29 in Galilee because it is not explicitly said to have occurred in Jerusalem, and the stay of the disciples in Jerusalem for a week after Easter Sunday is thought improbable.¹³⁰ Appeal is made also to the patristic association of the doubt of Thomas with Mt. xxviii. 16 f.¹³¹ The implications of the context, however, strongly favor Jerusalem as the scene of Jno. xx. 26-29. Moreover the time of the departure to Galilee is not fixed by the Synoptic tradition. It may not be possible fully to explain this stay in Jerusalem. There was need to gather the scattered disciples, inform them of the command to go to Galilee and of the appointed meeting-place. Their hopes for the restoration of the kingdom

holds that the Gospel may have ended with xvi. 8 (p. 345); *SNT*. I. p. 227. This theory of an anti-Jewish apologetic motive dominating the Gospel of Mark, applied by Wrede (*Das Messiasgeheimnis*, 1901) to a particular feature of the Marcan narrative, is generalized by Baldensperger in relation to the resurrection-narratives in *Urchristliche Apologie, die älteste Auferstehungskontroverse*, 1909. Cf. also Louis Coulange, *RHLR*, 1911, pp. 145 ff., 297 ff.; Bowen *Resurrection in NT*. p. 159 n. 4.

¹²⁷ *Aus Schrift* usw. p. 142.

¹²⁸ The Gospel of Peter may constitute an exception, if not in fact, at least in the natural inference from its fragmentary conclusion; yet even this Gospel makes of Jesus' enemies witnesses of his resurrection in Jerusalem (cf. Schubert *Pseudopetrin. Evang.* p. 96; W. Bauer, *Leben Jesu* usw. pp. 256 f).

¹²⁹ *Evang. des Joh.* ZK. iv. 1908, p. 672.

¹³⁰ Cf. Mt. xxvi. 32, xxviii. 7, 16; Mk. xiv. 28, xvi. 7.

¹³¹ *NkZ*, 1903, p. 806 n. 1, citing a scholion attributed to Origen in Cramer, *Cat. in Ev. Matt. et Marci*, p. 243, and Jerome. The addition however of *ἐτε Φίλιππος* (cf. also *Petrus von Laodicea*, ed. Heinrici, 1908, pp. 343 f) and the differentiation of the two incidents in Chrysostom weaken the force of this appeal.

to Israel¹³² would readily center in Jerusalem, and the command to go to Galilee—repeated as it was—may suggest that this was not the natural thing for them to do. Doubt had to be overcome,—in particular the doubt of Thomas. The Jerusalem appearances moreover may well have been intended to serve particularly in confirming the disciples' faith in the resurrection, the Galilean to give fuller instruction regarding their subsequent mission. The doubt of some in Mt. xxviii. 17 scarcely suggests the scene of Jno. xx. 26ff. It may have had its occasion in the form of the appearance, or it may indicate the presence of others beside the Eleven.¹³³

Voigt transfers the ascension from the Mount of Olives to the mount in Galilee, north-west of Capernaum,—the scene of the beatitudes and of the calling of the Twelve.¹³⁴ Luke is supposed to have identified the mountain of his Jerusalem source with the Mount of Olives and to have interpreted the separation there of Jesus from his disciples as final, in consequence of which the command to remain in the city was introduced.¹³⁵ The appearance to Peter, implied in Mark and

¹³² Acts i. 6; cf. Lk. xxiv. 21.

¹³³ Cf. Riegenbach, *Aus Schrift* usw. p. 150; Voigt, *Die ältesten Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, 1906, pp. 63 f.; on the summary character of the description cf. C. H. Weisse, *Evang. Gesch.* ii. pp. 415 ff.; Steinmeyer, *Apologetische Beiträge*, iii. 1871, p. 153, and J. Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel*, 1908, pp. 155 ff.; Korff, *Auferstehung* usw. pp. 29 ff.; Plummer, *St. Matthew*, p. 426.

¹³⁴ *Berichte* usw. pp. 79 ff.—although rejecting the reference of οὐ ἐράζατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Mt. xxviii. 16) to the mount of the beatitudes; cf. Volkmar, *Die Evangelien* usw. 1870, p. 609; Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, 1860 (1887), p. 330; B. Weiss, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium*,¹ 1898, MK. i. 1. p. 506; Bowen, *Resurrection in NT.* pp. 275 f. The identification with Thabor is combined with rejection of "Galilee on the Mount of Olives" by Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Christi*, ed. Rigollot, iv. 1878, p. 237, par. ii. cap. lxxx, 1: "Et sciendum, quod prope montem Oliveti ex parte boreali ad unum milliare est mons, qui appellatur Galilæa: et dicunt quidam quod ille est mons praedictus ad quem discipuli undecim abierunt, non quia mons sit in Galilæa, cum sit in Judæa, sed quia mons iste appellatur Galilæa; alii, quod magis videtur, dicunt hoc fuisse in monte Thabor, in quo Dominus transfiguratus fuit, qui vere in Galilæa consistit."

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 102 ff.

described in the appendix added to the Fourth Gospel by a disciple of John, occurred on the western slope of the Mount of Olives.¹³⁶ Emmaus is identified with Ensembles between Bethany and Jericho. Eight days after the appearances on Easter Sunday—to Mary Magdalene, to the women, to Peter, to Cleopas and his companion, and to the disciples in Jerusalem, Thomas being absent—Jesus appeared again to the disciples now about to depart to Galilee, Thomas being present; he then led them out to the Mount of Olives where he was separated from them, going before them, though now unseen, in the way to Galilee. On this journey he appeared to the five hundred; then in Galilee to the seven by the Sea, and finally on the mount where he gave commission to the disciples and was received up into heaven.¹³⁷

The plain statements of the Third Gospel and of Acts oppose this construction, and the transposition of the restoration of Peter from the place assigned to it in Jno. xxi depends wholly on an individual sense of fitness. The view of Riggensbach¹³⁸ is simpler and in closer accord with the evidence. The Jerusalem appearances, including an appearance to Peter and the appearance to the disciples after eight days,—Thomas being present—were followed by Galilean appearances, the appearance to the seven by the Sea including the restoration of Peter, and the appearance on the mountain—identified probably with the appearance to the five hundred—and finally in Jerusalem again, the appearance to James, and the farewell appearance terminated by the ascension from the Mount of Olives toward Bethany.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 74 ff.

¹³⁷ Cf. *ibid.* pp. 111 ff.

¹³⁸ *Aus Schrift und Geschichte*, pp. 151 ff.

¹³⁹ On the double tradition cf. Romberg, *NkZ.* 1901, pp. 315 ff.; B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*,⁴ ii. 1902, pp. 507 ff.; Beyschlag, *ThStKr.* 1899, pp. 507 ff.; *Leben Jesu*,⁴ i. 1902, pp. 433 ff.; Horn, *NkZ.* 1902, pp. 349 ff.; *Abfassungzeit, Geschichtlichkeit und Zweck von Evang. Joh. Kap. 21*, 1904, pp. 94 ff.; Belser, *Geschichte d. Leidens u. Sterbens, d. Auferstehung u. Himmelfahrt d. Herrn*, 1903, pp. 454 ff.; Wabnitz, *Hist. de la Vie de Jésus*, 1904, pp. 408 ff.; Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, 1905, pp. 170 ff.; D. Smith, *The Days of His Flesh*, 1905, pp. 508 ff.; an article in *ChQuRev.* Oct. 1905-Jan. 1906, pp. 323-355, especially pp. 347 ff.; Swete, *The Appearances of our Lord*, etc., 1907; Westcott, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 1908, ii. pp.

It may be difficult to solve in detail all the problems which arise on this general view of the relation of the narratives; but this should not affect our confidence in its validity. There will of necessity enter into every reconstruction of the course of events a subjective element which will preclude the attainment of more than a certain degree of probability. Paul's account is favorable to the tradition which locates the first appearances—including the appearance to Peter—in Jerusalem and on Easter Sunday; but the identification of the appearances which he mentions with particular appearances described in the Gospels is less certain. Judging from the order in which the appearance to James occurs in his list,¹⁴⁰ the place assigned to it in the Gospel according to the Hebrews cannot be historical.¹⁴¹ The fact however underlies and explains the position of James and the other brethren of the Lord in the early Church.¹⁴² It is perhaps more natural therefore, as the Jerusalem setting seems to be excluded, to locate this appearance in Galilee.

As Paul is silent about the appearances to the women, knowledge of them must be derived from the Gospels. The presence of women at the sepulchre on Easter morning is witnessed by all the Gospels,¹⁴³ and appearances of Jesus to them by two,—an appearance to Mary Magdalene at the sepulchre by John,¹⁴⁴ and an appearance to certain women on their way from the sepulchre by Matthew.¹⁴⁵ As John's narrative is the more graphic and the Fourth Gospel elsewhere presupposes knowledge of the Synoptic tradition, the appearance to Mary Magdalene is probably to be separated from the appearance to the women, Mary having left the others when she went to bring Peter and John word of the empty tomb.

333 f; J. Orr, *The Resurrection of Jesus*, 1909, pp. 149 ff; E. Mangelot, *La Résurrection de Jésus*, 1910, pp. 240 ff.; W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *DCG*, ii. p. 508; *The Resurrection and Modern Thought*, 1911, pp. 70 ff.

¹⁴⁰ Κηφᾶ, τοῖς δώδεκα, ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς, Ἰακώβω.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Appendix, p. 351, I.

¹⁴² Gal. i. 19, ii. 9, 12; 1 Cor. ix. 5; Acts i. 14, xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18; cf. Jno. vii. 3, 5.

¹⁴³ Mt. xxviii. 1 ff; Mk. xvi. 1 ff; Lk. xxiii. 55 f, xxiv. 1 ff, 10 f, 22; Jno. xx. 1 ff.

¹⁴⁴ Jno. xx. 1 ff.

¹⁴⁵ Mt. xxviii. 9-10.

Upon her return and after the departure of Peter and John, Jesus appeared to her. The appearance to the other women¹⁴⁶ followed as they went to tell to the disciples the message of the angel. The silence of the women as they left the sepulchre¹⁴⁷ cannot have continued indefinitely; for Mark shows knowledge of their experience and Matthew and Luke alike imply the breaking of what must have been a temporary state induced by fear.¹⁴⁸ The mingling of fear and joy¹⁴⁹ in their experience is not incongruous, nor does the appearance of Jesus to the women render an appearance to Peter superfluous. This may well have served the purpose of reestablishing Peter's faith and of fitting him to become a center of influence in gathering the scattered disciples and, eventually, their leader on the journey back to Galilee: for the Gospels imply the presence of the disciples in Jerusalem on Easter Sunday¹⁵⁰ and their scattering at Gethsemane¹⁵¹ cannot have been a "flight to Galilee".

There is no intimation in Luke that Cleopas and his companion were on their way to Galilee; and the isolated allusion to Emmaus is plainly indicative of authentic reminiscence.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Mk. xvi. 1 Mary Magdalene, Mary [the mother] of James, and Salome; Lk. xxiv. 10 Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary [the mother] of James, and the others with them.

¹⁴⁷ Mk. xvi. 8.

¹⁴⁸ Mt. xxviii. 8 ff; Lk. xxiv. 9, 22 f.

¹⁴⁹ Mt. xxviii. 8; cf. the description of the mental state of the disciples in Lk. xxiv. 37 and 41: *προθέντες δὲ καὶ ἔμβοβοι γενόμενοι . . . ἔτι δὲ ἀπιστούντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς καὶ θαυμοζόντων κτλ.*

¹⁵⁰ After the scattering at Gethsemane the presence of the disciples in or near Jerusalem is implied in Mt. xxviii. 7 f., 10 f.; Mk. xvi. 7; Lk. xxiii. 49 (*οἱ γνωστοὶ αὐτῷ*); xxiv. 9 f., 24, 33 ff.; Jno. xx. 18, 19 ff.; the presence of Peter in Mt. xxvi. 57 ff.; Mk. xiv. 53 ff.; Lk. xxii. 54 ff.; xxiv. [12], 34; Jno. xviii. 15 ff., 25 ff., xx. 3 ff.; of John in Jno. xviii. 15 f., xix. 26 f., xx. 3 ff.

¹⁵¹ The scattering of the disciples is witnessed by Mt. xxvi. 56; Mk. xiv. 50, and was predicted in Mt. xxvi. 31; Mk. xiv. 27; Jno. xvi. 32; cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 50; *Dial.* 53; 106; see above note 38.

¹⁵² On the location cf. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes* usw. i. pp. 640 ff.; on the similarity of the narrative with Acts viii. 26-40 and possible derivation from the family of Philip cf. M. Dibelius, *ZNW.* 1911, p. 329.

An appearance to the disciples in Jerusalem¹⁵³ seems to be implied in Matthew.¹⁵⁴ Luke describes an appearance to the disciples and others as occurring late on the evening of Easter Sunday, after the return of Cleopas and his companion. This is probably identical with the appearance to the Twelve, which follows the appearance to Peter in Paul's list, and with the appearance to the disciples when Thomas was absent, which is recorded by John.¹⁵⁵

The hesitation or doubt of some when they heard the story of the women¹⁵⁶ and witnessed or learned of an appearance¹⁵⁷ shows a desire for tangible, sensible evidence which was not unnatural under the circumstances and is not an indication of a late stage in the development of Gospel tradition. Its exaggeration in later narratives¹⁵⁸ may have had an apologetic or an antidocetic motive, but there is no reason to question its existence. Its duration in individuals can be fixed if definitely indicated,¹⁵⁹ but its presence is not in itself proof of an initial experience. Those who doubted on the mountain in Galilee may have been among the disciples to whom Jesus had already appeared; but it is quite possible that Matthew in following a source¹⁶⁰ has mentioned the Eleven specifically as present for the purpose of reporting the carrying out of Jesus' direction and the fulfilment of his promise, without noting the presence of others. Certainly the whole incident cannot be assigned to an earlier period on the ground of Matthew's unwillingness to record the doubts of the disciples.¹⁶¹

¹⁵³ Lk. xxiv. 36 ff.

¹⁵⁴ Mt. xxviii. 16 (οὐ ἐράξατο αὐτοῖς).

¹⁵⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 5; Jno. xx. 19 ff.

¹⁵⁶ Lk. xxiv. 11.

¹⁵⁷ Mt. xxviii. 17; Lk. xxiv. 37; Jno. xx. 24 ff.

¹⁵⁸ [Mk.] xvi. 11, 14 ff, the addition in the Freer Ms.—cf. Gregory, *Das Freer Logion*, 1908—and the Coptic Document; cf. Appendix, p. 352, III.

¹⁵⁹ Jno. xx. 26 ff.

¹⁶⁰ In xxviii. 17 οἱ δέ is introduced abruptly and the οὐ ἐράξατο αὐτοῖς is not adequately grounded in the preceding context. Likewise in verse 9 the antecedent of αὐταῖς is Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία (verse 1), although it seems probable that Mary Magdalene was not actually present on this occasion.

¹⁶¹ Cf. above p. 336.

Jesus' promise before his death, repeated in the message of the angel and of Jesus to the women, that he would "go before his disciples into Galilee" seems to imply personal leadership rather than temporal precedence or prior arrival.¹⁶² The changed form of the message in Luke,¹⁶³ even if it be based on Mark, is intended to introduce another feature, to doubt the authenticity of which there is no other ground than the suspicion that Luke begins at this point an unhistorical elimination of the Galilean appearances. But this elimination is unhistorical in Luke, as the elimination of the Jerusalem appearance to the disciples is unhistorical in Matthew, only when the narratives are held to be exclusive of facts which they do not record. Luke's narrative is plainly determined by interest in the Jerusalem appearances. It is greatly condensed. Whether or not it be possible to show that Luke's source contained an account of Galilean appearances, some break in the temporal order¹⁶⁴ is demanded in the interest of a rational interpretation of the closing scene. Luke cannot have meant¹⁶⁵ or intended his readers to think of Jesus' final separation from the disciples as occurring late at night. And if such a break be admitted, the words of Jesus bidding the disciples "tarry

¹⁶² Mt. xxvi. 32; Mk. xiv. 28: προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν; cf. Mt. xxviii. 7; Mk. xvi. 7 (προάγει). This interpretation is commended both by the context of the original promise and by the usage in Mk. x. 32: ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαλόντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἦν προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς κτλ. Cf. also Mt. ii. 9, xxi. 9; Mk. xi. 9; Lk. xviii. 39; Acts xii. 6, xvi. 30; but on the other hand, Mt. xiv. 22; Mk. vi. 45; Mt. xxi. 31.

¹⁶³ xxiv. 6: μνησθητε ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἔτι ὡν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ λέγων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι κτλ.

¹⁶⁴ Either after verse 43, 45, or 48; cf. Plummer, *St. Luke, ICC*, pp. 561, 564.

¹⁶⁵ This follows not only from a careful examination of Lk. xxiv but from the definite statement in Acts i. 3 that the appearances continued during forty days. To those who admit the Lukan authorship of the Third Gospel and Acts this should be conclusive, even if the consequences do not contribute to the stability of the Galilean theory of the appearances. Harnack however having characterized the "forty days" as a myth (*Apostelgeschichte*, 1908, p. 129) is disposed to admit its early origin [uralt] only as a messianic-apocalyptic theologoumenon (*Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, 1911, pp. 113 f). For a different view of the "forty days"—by which the appearance to Peter is dated—cf. B. W. Bacon, *AJTh*. 1911, p. 402.

in the city " ¹⁶⁶ will not exclude the appearances in Galilee which are implied in Mark and recorded in Matthew and John.

Following the appearance on the eighth day after Easter, ¹⁶⁷ the disciples went to Galilee. The appearance to the seven by the Sea probably preceded the appearance on the mountain. ¹⁶⁸ The fishing scene may imply in the Gospel of Peter the taking up again of an old occupation in the despondency and despair which followed the dissipation of cherished hopes; ¹⁶⁹ but such an interpretation of it is excluded in John. The disciples are in Galilee at Jesus' command—as John and his readers would know from Matthew ¹⁷⁰—and they could not have been in despair of Jesus' cause in the thought either of the author or of the reader of Jno. xx. The commission of Peter which is connected with this incident, like the commission of the disciples, ¹⁷¹ is not necessarily connected either logically or temporally with the first experience of an appearance of Jesus. The author of Jno. xxi not only felt no incongruity in the order but specifically calls this the third time that Jesus appeared to his disciples. To insist that it must have been the first because the author calls it the third is arbitrary; ¹⁷² and there is no adequate literary justification for the separation of the two incidents of this scene.

The identification of the appearance to the five hundred with the appearance to the Eleven on the mountain in Galilee and of that to all the disciples—in Paul's list—with the final appearance in Jerusalem at the time of the ascension from the Mount of Olives toward Bethany is both natural and highly probable.

Of the three views concerning the place of the appearances the Jerusalem theory has least to commend it and the evidence

¹⁶⁶ xxiv. 49; cf. Acts i. 4.

¹⁶⁷ Jno. xx. 26 ff.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Jno. xxi. 14: τοῦτο ἡδὴ τρίτον ἐφανερώθη Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. above p. 333.

¹⁷⁰ On the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptic Gospels cf. Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii. pp. 507 ff..

¹⁷¹ Mt. xxviii. 18 ff.

¹⁷² Cf. Lyder Brun, *ThStKr*, 1911, p. 167.

against it is clear and convincing. For this and other reasons the Galilean theory is generally considered the critical alternative to the double tradition. It is however closely associated with the "flight to Galilee" theory; and this is contrary to the historical evidence. Even the Gospel of Peter represents the disciples as present in Jerusalem until the end of the feast, and certainly therefore until the third day, if not longer. This being true, it is impossible to hold against all the evidence except the Gospel of Peter that the journey to Galilee was made in ignorance of the empty tomb and the message of the angel. The transfer to Galilee of the appearance to Peter—recorded by Luke in a Jerusalem setting—is arbitrary and made in the interest of the general theory. This theory moreover is not adequately supported by inference from Mark, by the hypothetical contents of the lost ending of Mark, by the Gospel of Peter, and by a critical transformation of Jno. xxi. Its treatment of the Gospels as literary embodiments of a twofold, but mutually exclusive tradition, is supported indeed by the affirmation of axiomatic validity for its own historical premise, but this only discloses the intrusion of an unsound skepticism between the interpreter and his sources,¹⁷³ the deepest roots of which are not historical but philosophical. The close association of this theory with the interpretation of the appearances as visionary experiences—whether objectively or subjectively occasioned—is of course not accidental.¹⁷⁴ Its bearing on the resurrection itself and the transformation of Christianity, which the elimination of this element from its historic faith involves, are not concealed.

The theory that maintains the validity of the double tradition offers an explanation of the documentary evidence by at-

¹⁷³ Cf. J. Weiss, *Jesus von Nazareth, Mythos oder Geschichte*, 1910, pp. 84 f. This attitude toward the sources is not confined to the radical type of criticism; and Weiss' statement is made in a form broadly applicable to contemporary historical method; cf. also p. 93.

¹⁷⁴ Kreyenbühl's repudiation and criticism of the vision hypothesis is interesting but not significant, for his own theory of the psychological genesis of the resurrection faith in the triumph of the messianic-apocalyptic idea over popular ghost-fear is equally naturalistic and opposed to the plain implications of the historical sources (*ZNW*, 1908, pp. 273 ff); cf. J. A. Cramer, *ThT*. 1910, p. 213.

tempting an interpretation of it in accordance with the premises of the documents. Both Paul and the primitive Christian community believed that Jesus rose from the dead and that he appeared to certain persons. The records of fact underlying this belief are consistent in regard to its essential features, though no one of them attempts to set forth the different elements in their various relations. Concrete events have influenced the narratives, but here as elsewhere the Gospels are not dominated by the modern interest in exact sequence in time or minute local description. They record enough to make their witness quite plain in its broad aspects and not intractable to a constructive treatment which shares their premises. But when these premises are rejected, the effort to discover a different factual basis for the belief which the documents reflect necessarily results in a treatment of the sources, the violence of which is less apparent but not justified because it forms part of a particular theory of the character and development of early Christianity.¹⁷⁵

The method which treats the Gospel narratives as supplementary¹⁷⁶—the so-called “method of addition”—yields a result that fairly interprets and is supported by the objective evidence of the documents. With the increasing recognition of the evidence for the early date of the Synoptic Gospels, their sources,—of whatever kind and constitution—being still earlier,—carry back the witness of the documents to the time of the eye-witnesses. And among these there was no difference of opinion concerning the factual basis which underlies the tradition recorded by the Gospels in concrete and varying forms. To admit with Harnack that the Gospel of Luke was written before 70 A.D. and early in the sixties,¹⁷⁷ is to accept a fact which has an important bearing on the origin of the sources of the Synoptic Gospels,—a fact which makes it difficult, as Harnack himself foresaw,¹⁷⁸ to regard as legendary their accounts of supernatural events. For if the Gospels em-

¹⁷⁵ Cf. B. B. Warfield, *AJTh.* 1911, pp. 337 ff., 546 ff., and J. A. Cramer, *ThT.* 1910, pp. 217 ff.

¹⁷⁶ Barth, *Hauptprobleme d. Lebens Jesu*,^{*} 1903, p. 218.

¹⁷⁷ *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 81 ff.

¹⁷⁸ *Die Apostelgeschichte*, p. 221, n. 2.

body the view of Jesus which was current in the primitive Christian community about 60 A.D.—as Heitmüller admits¹⁷⁹—or earlier—as Harnack’s dating of Luke requires—the rejection of their witness cannot be based upon their differences or upon purely historical considerations. Recourse must be had to a principle springing ultimately out of philosophical conceptions by which their unanimous witness to essential features in their portraiture of Jesus may be set aside.¹⁸⁰ It is not strange therefore that this type of Gospel criticism finds itself confronted by a still more radical type¹⁸¹ against which it can with difficulty defend the historical minimum permitted by its premises.¹⁸² And this only raises more acutely the issue concerning the validity of the premises upon which an attitude

¹⁷⁹ Cf. the following note.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. the principle formulated and applied to the Gospels by Schmiedel in *EB.* ii. col. 1839-1896, and more recently by Heitmüller in *DGG.* iii. 1911, pp. 359-362. After pointing out that the earliest sources of the Synoptic Gospels do not go back of but reflect merely the view of Jesus which was current in the Palestinian community from 50-70 and formulating as the canon of historical trustworthiness the generally accepted [allgemein anerkannten] principle of contradiction—that those elements of Gospel tradition may be accepted as surely trustworthy which are not in accord with the faith of the community to which the general representation belongs—Heitmüller says (p. 361): Our scrupulousness [Skrupulosität, or Bedenken (p. 377), or Vorsicht (p. 396)] “must be especially active against all the things that were especially dear to the early Christians; to which belong the faith in Jesus’ Messiahship, his near return, the whole subject of so-called eschatology (kingdom of God), the passion and resurrection, and the miraculous power of Jesus; where the heart and the theology or the apologetic of the early Christians were especially interested, an influence on historical tradition or construction must be feared”; cf. also an exposition of the “ætiological” principle or the “method of pragmatic values” by B. W. Bacon, *HThR.* 1908, pp. 48 ff.—privately endorsed by Harnack, cf. *AJTh.* 1911, p. 374, n. 4—and *JBL.* 1910, i. pp. 41 ff.; and the theory of the “messianisation” of the earthly life of Jesus in Bowen, *Resurrection in NT.* pp. 402 ff., 421 ff., 439. On the other hand cf. the acute criticism of the literary and historical methods which characterize this point of view by Franz Dibelius, *Das Abendmahl*, 1911, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁸¹ Kalthoff, J. M. Robertson, W. B. Smith, Jensen, A. Drews, etc.

¹⁸² Cf. Bousset, *Was wissen wir von Jesus*, 1904; *ThR.* 1911, pp. 373 ff.; J. Weiss, *Jesus von Nazareth, Mythos oder Geschichte*, 1910; a review of Weiss by B. B. Warfield in *PrThR.* 1911, pp. 332 ff.; M. Dibelius in *ThLz.* 1910, pp. 545 ff.; Windisch in *ThR.* 1910, p. 163 ff., 199 ff.; 1911, pp. 114 ff.

of distrust toward the early Christian view of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels and embodied in the earliest sources which they incorporate is maintained. But if the early Christian view of Jesus be true in its essential features—and it is attested by all the historical evidence—it may confidently be expected that the totality of the Gospel witness in its concrete details will come into its rights, which are the rights—as its witness is true—of Jesus, the Christ, who by his resurrection and appearances became the author of Christian faith at the inception of the Church's life, and who is still the ever living source of faith, the Lord of life and glory.

199 ff.; A. Drews, *Die Christusmythe*, ii. 1911—*Ein Antwort an die Schriftgelehrten* usw.; Holtzmann, *PrM.* 1900, pp. 463 ff.; 1907, pp. 313 ff.; *ChrW.* 1910, pp. 151 ff.; Case, *AJTh.* 1911, pp. 20 ff., 205 ff., 265 ff.; *The Historicity of Jesus*, 1912.

APPENDIX.

I. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS: HIERONYMUS, LIBER DE VIRIS INLUSTRIBUS, Gebhardt u. Harnack, *TU.* xiv. 1896, p. 8.

'Dominus autem cum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis, ivit ad Iacobum et apparuit ei', (iuraverat enim Iacobus se non comedurum panem ab illa hora qua biberat calicem Domini, donec videret eum resurgentem a dormientibus) rursusque post paululum, 'Adferite, ait Dominus, mensam et panem', statimque addit: 'Tulit panem et benedixit et fregit et dedit Iacobo Iusto et dixit ei: 'Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus'.

Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 7. The secondary character of this narrative is plain even if "dominus" be read with the Greek translation (ὁ κύριος) for "domini" in the clause "qua biberat calicem"; cf. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 1892, p. 274; Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit. bis Euseb.* i. 1, p. 8; ii. 1, p. 650 n. 1; Resch, *Agrapha*,² Gebhardt u. Harnack, *TU.* NF. xv. 3-4, 1906, pp. 248 ff; Handmann, *Das Hebräer-Evangelium*, 1888, pp. 77 ff.; Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente u. Untersuchungen z. d. jüdenchr. Evangelien*, Harnack u. Schmidt, *TU.* 3. Reihe, vii. 1, 1911, p. 37; on the other hand cf. Zahn, *Gesch. d. nt. Kanons*, ii. pp. 700 ff.; *Forschungen*, vi. 1900, p. 277; W. Bauer, *Leben Jesu usw.* p. 164; Bowen, *Resurrection in NT.* p. 424 n. 2.

II. GOSPEL OF PETER: Klostermann, *Apocrypha*,² Lietzmann, *KIT.* 3, 1908, pp. 7 f.

xii 50 Ὁρθρου δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ, μαθήτρια τοῦ κυρίου ([ἡ] φοβουμένη διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἐπειδὴ ἐφλέγοντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι τοῦ κυρίου ἀ εἰώθεσαν ποιεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθνήσκουσι τοῖς καὶ ἀγαπωμένοις αὐταῖς) ⁵¹ λαβοῦσα μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τὰς φίλας ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ὅπου ἦν τεθελς. ⁵² καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἴδωσιν αὐτὰς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἔλεγον· "εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἐσταυρώθη ἐδυνήθημεν κλαῦσαι καὶ κόψασθαι, κἂν νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος αὐτοῦ ποιήσωμεν ταῦτα. ⁵³ τίς δὲ ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν τεθέντα ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημεῖου, ἵνα εἰσελθοῦσαι παρακαθεσθῶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα; ⁵⁴ μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος, καὶ φοβούμεθα μὴ τις ἡμᾶς ἴδῃ. καὶ εἰ μὴ δυνάμεθα, κἂν ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας βάλωμεν ἀ φέρομεν εἰς μνημοσύνην αὐτοῦ.[καὶ] κλαύσωμεν καὶ κοψώμεθα ἕως ἔλθωμεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν." xiii 55 καὶ ἐπελθοῦσαι εὑρον τὸν τάφον ἡνεωγμένον· καὶ προσελθοῦσαι παρέκλυσαν ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὀρώσιν ἐκεῖ τινα νεανίσκον καθεζόμενον [ἐν] μέσῳ τοῦ τάφου ὠραῖον καὶ περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λαμπροτάτην, ὅστις ἔφη αὐταῖς. ⁵⁶ "τί ἤλθατε; τίνα ζητεῖτε; μὴ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκείνον; ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύετε, παρακύψατε καὶ ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἔκειτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀνέστη γὰρ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ ὅθεν ἀπεστάλη." ⁵⁷ τότε αἱ γυναῖκες φοβηθεῖσαι ἔφυγον.

xiv 58 Ἦν δὲ τελευταία ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων, καὶ πολλοὶ τινες ἐξήρχοντο ὑποστρέφοντες εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν τῆς ἑορτῆς πανσαμένης. ⁵⁹ ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἐκλαομεν καὶ ἐλυπούμεθα, καὶ ἕκαστος λυπούμενος διὰ τὸ συμβᾶν ἀπηλλάγη εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. ⁶⁰ ἐγὼ δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφός μου λαβόντες ἡμῶν τὰ λῖνα ἀπῆλθαμεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ ἦν σὺν ἡμῖν Λευεὶς ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου, ὃν κύριος. . . .

III. COPTIC DOCUMENT: translated from Schmidt, *SAB.* 1895, pp. 707 f.

"Mary, Martha and Mary Magdelene go to the grave to anoint the body. Finding the grave empty, they are sorrowful and weep. The Lord appears to them and says: 'Why do ye weep, cease weeping, I am [he] whom ye seek. But let one of you go to your brethren and say: 'Come, the Master is risen from the dead.' Martha went and told it to us. We spake to her: 'What hast thou to do with us, O woman? He who died is buried and it is not possible that he lives.' We did not believe her, that the Redeemer was risen from the dead. Then went she to the Lord and spake to him: 'None among them believe me, that thou livest.' He spake: 'Let another of you go to them and tell it to them again.' Mary went and told it to us again, and we did not believe her. She returned to the Lord, and she likewise told it to him. Then said the Lord to Mary and her other sisters: 'Let us go to them.' And he went and found us within and called us outside. But we thought that it was a spirit (*φαντασία*) and believed not, that it was the Lord. Then spake he to us: 'Come and . . . Thou, O Peter, who hast denied his [Preuschen, <me>] thrice, and dost thou deny even now?' We drew near to him, doubting in our hearts that perhaps it might not be he. Then spake he to us: 'Why do you still doubt and are unbelieving? I am he who spake to you about my flesh and my death and my resurrection, that ye might know that I am he. Peter, lay thy finger in the nail-prints in my hands, and thou Thomas lay thy finger in the spear-thrust in my side, but do thou Andrew touch my feet, thus thou seest that she . . . to those of earth. For it is written in the prophet, 'fantacies of dreams . . . on earth.' We answered him: 'We have recognized in truth, that . . . in the flesh.' And we cast ourselves on our face[s] and confessed our sins that we had been unbelieving."

Schmidt (*SAB.* 1908, p. 1055) thinks that the author of the Greek original knew the passage in Ignatius *ad Smyrn.* iii: ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, κραθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι (cf. *ad Trall.* ix). Cf. also Hier. *de vir. ill.* xvi; Schmidt, *SAB.* 1908, pp. 1047-1056 and *ThLz.* 1910, p. 796; Harnack, *Theologische Studien B. Weiss* dargebracht, pp. 1-8; A. Meyer, *Auferstehung* usw. pp. 81 f.; M. R. James, *JThSt.* 1909-10, pp. 101, 290, 569; 1910-11, pp. 55 f.; D. P. Bihlmeyer, *RBd.* 1911, pp. 270 ff; Hennecke, *Neutest. Apokryphen*, pp. 38 f; Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, pp. 83 f; W. Bauer, *Leben Jesu* usw. p. 262.

IV. THE SYRIAC DIDASCALIA: translated from Achelis und Flemming in Gebhardt u. Harnack, *TU. NF.* x. 1904, p. 107.

"Because then these days and nights were short, therefore it is written thus [in the Old Testament quotation which precedes]. In the night

therefore, as Sunday was breaking, he appeared to Mary Magdalene and Mary the daughter of James, and in the morning-dawn of Sunday he entered into [the house of] Levi, and then he appeared also to us."

The account of the appearances follows an explanation of the manner in which the word of Jesus in Mt. xii. 40—the Son Man must be three days in the heart of the earth—was fulfilled; afterwards Jesus gives instructions concerning fasting.

V. TERTULLIAN, *APOLOGETICUM*, XXI: Oehler, i. pp. 201 ff.

Ad doctrinam vero eius, qua revincebantur magistri primoresque Iudæorum, ita exasperabantur, maxime quod ingens ad eum multitudo deflecteret, ut postremo oblatum Pontio Pilato, Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procuranti, violentia suffragiorum in crucem Iesum dedi sibi extorserint . . . Sed ecce tertia die concussa repente terra, et mole revoluta quae obstruxerat sepulchrum, et custodia pavore disiecta, nullis apparentibus discipulis nihil in sepulchro repertum est praeterquam exuviae sepulti . . . Nam nec ille se in vulgus eduxit, ne impii errore liberarentur, ut et fides, non mediocri praemio destinata, difficultate constaret. Cum discipulis autem quibusdam apud Galilæam, Iudæae regionem, ad quadraginta dies egit docens eos quae docerent. Dehinc ordinatis eis ad officium praedicandi per orbem circumfusa nube in caelum est receptus . . . Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse iam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Caesari tunc Tiberio nuntiavit.

VI. ACTA PILATI: Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*,² 1876.

B xv. 5 (p. 321) ἔφη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰωσήφ· κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν τῆς παρασκευῆς, ὅτε με ἐν φυλακῇ κατησφαλίσατε, ἔπεσον εἰς προσευχὴν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ σαββάτου. καὶ τοῦ μεσονυκτίου ὁρῶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς φυλακῆς ὅτι ἐσκόωσαν αὐτὸν ἄγγελοι τέσσαρες, ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων γονίων κατέχοντες αὐτόν. καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡς ἀστραπή, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἔπεσον εἰς τὴν γῆν. κρατήσας οὖν με τῆς χειρὸς ἤγειρε λέγων· μὴ φοβοῦ, Ἰωσήφ. εἶτα περιλαβὼν κατεφίλησέ με καὶ λέγει· ἐπιστράφου καὶ ἴδε τίς εἰμι. στραφεὶς οὖν καὶ ἰδὼν εἶπον· κύριε, οὐκ οἶδα τίς εἶ. λέγει ἐκείνος· ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς, ὃν προεχθὲς ἐκήδευσας. λέγω πρὸς αὐτόν· δεῖξόν μοι τὸν τάφον, καὶ τότε πιστεύσω. λαβὼν οὖν με τῆς χειρὸς ἀπήγαγεν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ὅντι ἡνεωγμένῳ. καὶ ἰδὼν ἐγὼ τὴν σινδόνα καὶ τὸ σουδάριον καὶ γνωρίσας εἶπον· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, καὶ προσεκύνησα αὐτόν. εἶτα λαβὼν με τῆς χειρὸς, ἀκολουθούντων καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀριμαθίαν ἐν τῷ ὁκῷ μου, καὶ λέγει μοι· κάθου ἐνταῦθα ἕως ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπάγω εἰς τοὺς μαθητάς μου, ἵνα πληροφορήσω αὐτοὺς κηρύττειν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν [A. xv. 6 (p. 274): ἰδοὺ γὰρ πορεύομαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν]. Cf. A xv. 6 (pp. 272 ff.); *Gesta*. xv. 5 (pp. 381 f.); *Narratio Iosephi*, iv. 2 (pp. 467 ff.).

B. xiv. 1 (p. 318): μεθ' ἡμέρας δὲ ὀλίγας ἦλθον ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἄνθρωποι τρεῖς· ὁ εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦν ἱερεὺς ὀνόματι Φινεός, ὁ ἕτερος λευίτης ὀνόματι Ἀγγαῖος, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος στρατιώτης [A. xiv. 1 (p. 259) διδάσκαλος] ὀνόματι Ἀδᾶς. οὗτοι ἦλθον πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ εἶπον αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ λαῷ· τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, εἶδομεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἑνδεκα μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ελαιῶν [A. xiv. 1

(p. 259) τὸ καλούμενον Μαμὶλχ. v.l. Μαμβήχ, Μαλήκ, Μοφήκ, Μομφή, *Manbre sive Malech, Manbre sive Amalech, Mambre, Mabrech*], διδάσκοντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγοντα· πορεύθητε εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ κηρύξατε τὸ εὐγγέλιον, καὶ ὅστις πιστεύσει καὶ βαπτισθῇ σωθήσεται, ὅστις δὲ οὐ πιστεύσει κατακριθήσεται. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. καὶ ἐθεωροῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν πεντακοσίων ἐπέκεινα. Cf. A. xiv. 1 (pp. 259 f.), *Gesta*, xiv. 1 (p. 372); B. xvi. 2 (p. 322), A. xvi. 5 (p. 279), *Gesta*, xvi. 3 (p. 386); *Descensus Christi*, B. i. [xvii.] (p. 417). In A. xiii. 1 (p. 255) the message of the angel to the women at the sepulchre concludes: καὶ ταχὺ πορευθεῖσαι εἶπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ. Cf. also xiii. 2 (p. 257), B. xiii. 1 (p. 317), *Gesta*, xiii. 1 (p. 369); *Anaphora Pilati*, A. 9 (p. 441).

VII. ABBREVIATIONS.

| | |
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| <i>AJTh.</i> | The American Journal of Theology: Chicago University. |
| <i>BG.</i> | Beweiss des Glaubens: Zöckler und Steude. |
| <i>BFTh.</i> | Beiträge zur Förderung christ. Theologie; Schlatter u. Lütgert. |
| <i>ChQuRev.</i> | Church Quarterly Review; A. C. Headlam. |
| <i>ChrW.</i> | Christliche Welt: Rade. |
| <i>DCG.</i> | Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels: Hastings. |
| <i>EB.</i> | Encyclopedia Biblica: Cheyne and Black. |
| <i>Exp.</i> | Expositor: R. Nicoll. |
| <i>HB.</i> | Handbuch zum Neuen Testament: Lietzmann. |
| <i>HC.</i> | Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament: H. J. Holtzmann. |
| <i>HJ.</i> | Hibbert Journal: L. P. Hicks. |
| <i>HTThR.</i> | The Harvard Theological Review: Harvard University. |
| <i>ICC.</i> | International Crit. Commentary: Briggs, Driver and Plummer. |
| <i>JBL.</i> | Journal of Biblical Literature: Society of Bibl. Lit. and Exeg. |
| <i>JThSt.</i> | Journal of Theological Studies: Bethune-Baker. |
| <i>KIT.</i> | Kleine Texte: Lietzmann. |
| <i>MK.</i> | Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament begründet von H. A. W. Meyer. |
| <i>NkZ.</i> | Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift: Engelhardt. |
| <i>OC.</i> | The Open Court: Open Court Publishing Company. |
| <i>PrM.</i> | Protestantische Monatshefte: Websky. |
| <i>PrThR.</i> | The Princeton Theological Review: Princeton. |
| <i>RBd.</i> | Revue Bénédictine: Maredsous. |
| <i>RGG.</i> | Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Schiele u. Zscharnack. |
| <i>RHLR.</i> | Revue d'Histoire et de littérature religieuses: Émile Nourry. |
| <i>SAB.</i> | Sitzungsberichte d. königl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin. |
| <i>SNT.</i> | Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments: J. Weiss. |
| <i>StBE.</i> | Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica: Clarendon Press. |
| <i>ThLBl.</i> | Theologische Literaturblatt: Ihmels. |
| <i>ThLz.</i> | Theologische Literaturzeitung: Schürer und Harnack. |
| <i>ThQ.</i> | Theologische Quartalschrift: Belser. |
| <i>ThR.</i> | Theologische Rundschau: Bousset und Heitmüller. |
| <i>ThStKr.</i> | Theologische Studien und Kritiken: Kattenbusch und Loofs. |
| <i>ThT.</i> | Theologisch Tijdschrift: B. D. Eerdmans. |
| <i>TU.</i> | Texte und Untersuchungen: Gebhardt und Harnack. |
| <i>ZK.</i> | Kommentar zum Neuen Testament: Th. Zahn. |
| <i>ZNW.</i> | Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft: Preuschen. |
| <i>ZThK.</i> | Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche: Herrmann und Rade. |
| <i>ZwTh.</i> | Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie: A. Hilgenfeld. |



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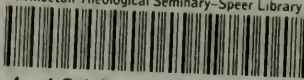
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